







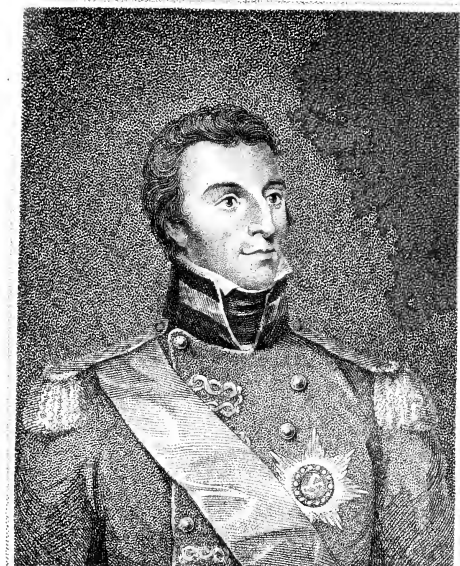




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MARQUIS of WELLINGTON

*Published by Van Ninkle & May*

THE  
**L I F E**  
OF  
THE MOST NOBLE ARTHUR,  
MARQUIS AND EARL OF WELLINGTON,

VISCOUNT WELLINGTON OF TALAVERA AND OF WELLINGTON, AND BARON DOURO OF  
WELLESLEY, ALL IN THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET, K. B.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL; MARSHAL GENERAL OF THE PORTUGUESE, AND  
CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THE SPANISH ARMIES;

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S FORCES IN THE PENINSULA; ALSO,

DUKE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO, K. C. S. &c. &c.

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THE FIRST PART  
BY FRANCIS L. CLARKE.

THE SECOND PART,  
FROM THE ATTACK ON THE CASTLE OF BURGOS TO THE TAKING OF BORDEAUX,  
BY WILLIAM DUNLAP.

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NEW-YORK:

Printed and Published by Van Winkle and Wiley,

Corner of Wall and New-streets.

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1814.

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W.C.  
1817

*District of New-York, ss.*

**BE IT REMEMBERED**, that on the twenty fourth day of May in the thirty eighth year of the independence of the United States of America, Van Winkle and Wiley of the said District, have deposited in this Office the title of a Book the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

"The Life of the Most Noble Arthur, Marquis and Earl of Wellington, Viscount Wellington, of Talavera and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley, all in the County of Somerset, K. G.; Lieutenant General; Marshal General of the Portuguese, and Captain General of the Spanish armies: Commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces in the Peninsula: also Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, K. C. S. &c. &c. The first part by Francis J. Clarke. The second part, from the attack on the castle of Burgos to the taking of Bordeaux, by William Dunlap."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the Authors and Proprietors, of such copies during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled, "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other Prints."

**THERON RUDD,**

Clerk of the District Court for the District of New-York.

1817  
10. 43

## PREFACE.



*THERE* never was a question in politics, perhaps, in which there has been a greater, a more extreme difference, than on that of the war in the Peninsula ; and it is not less worthy of notice, that, perhaps, there never was a greater degree of unanimity of approval than at present upon this very question.

When all Spain rose, as it were by a miracle, (for the effect was simultaneous, and without combination,) in opposition to the insidious thralldom of France, her exertions were looked on by many in this country with coldness, and even apathy. It was supposed impossible for a degraded, and almost enslaved, population to resist, even for a moment, the military power and political machinations of him who had conquered more than half of the civilized world. All feared her eventual success, and some prognosticated, with the most determined assertions, her eternal subjugation. Yet, in the space of a few short years, how changed is the scene !—so changed, that even our most desponding statesmen venture to look forward to her restoration to her ancient

*rank among the kingdoms of Europe, and to her assuming that rank accompanied with feelings of esteem and gratitude to Britain; feelings which, in future political connexions, may ultimately tend highly both to the political welfare and internal comfort of each country. To what, then, has this wonderful, this extraordinary change been owing? To what, indeed, but to the liberal and friendly assistance of this country;—to the gallantry of our troops, and to the consummate skill and approved valour of him who has so frequently led them on to glory! During the whole progress of this arduous, this almost unequalled contest, the gallant Wellington has unequivocally afforded grounds for the highest honours that his sovereign could shower down upon him, or his grateful country could bestow. He has, by his example, given spirit and enthusiasm, not only to his own troops, but to those of the sister kingdoms of the Peninsula. By his consummate skill, indefatigable exertions, and excellent judgment, he has foiled the best generals of France, overcome difficulties considered insuperable, and directed the exertions of Britain, and the force of her unfortunate allies, to those points where, in all cases, they were most available.*

*By his steadiness, and his Fabius movements, he has preserved his own strength unbroken, whilst that of his enemy was on the decline, and enabled the scattered bands of patriots to acquire both discipline and numbers, and thus to produce a hardy race of soldiers, who, as guerillas, have learned to despise French courage, and to counteract*

*even French discipline. At the same time, by the well-timed rapidity of his manœuvres, when necessary, as well as by their secrecy and determined purposes, he has beat all the calculations of the enemy, according even to their own confessions; a proof of which, if proof were wanting, would be found in the fact of his having taken CIUDAD RODRIGO in half the time which the French general had considered possible; and thus, by its capture, connected with that of Almeida, always a military post of importance, not only formed a powerful defence for Portugal, but opened a way into the very heart of Spain.*

*This latter excellence of rapidity and determination was, indeed, always expected by his friends; and we shall have occasion to see, in the progress of this biography, particularly in detailing his brilliancy of thought at the glorious battle of Assye, on the plains of Hindoostán, that their expectations were well founded; but the steadiness of his other operations, the self-denial with which he has delayed to pluck the laurels which victory held out to him with open hand, are traits in his character which might have been considered as unlikely to appear, and that without derogating from the high character which he had acquired previous to his present distinguished rank in the Peninsula.*

*But it is to this latter part of his character that much of the success of the present contest has been owing; and it is entirely owing to it that he has been enabled to overcome the various difficulties he had to encounter, as opposed to the almost overwhelming power of France, commanded by*

her best generals, with a force of British troops, even now little more than half the number of French concentrated in any one spot. For, much as the Spanish and Portuguese troops have of late improved in discipline, and much as might have, even at first, been expected from their native courage, yet Lord Wellington could not trust the safety of his army, or the ultimate success of the cause, to an absolute dependence on their almost untried exertions; he has, nevertheless, known how to avail himself even of their inefficient state with a degree of judgment and spirit happily justified by the event.

We must now close this slight sketch of the subject, with one observation on the character of our gallant fellow citizen. If we look at him, as will be exemplified in the course of this work, whether commanding, or commanded, we shall always find the same greatness of mind, whether checked in his pursuit in the moment of victory, as at Vimiera, by the orders of a superior; or prompted to delay the accomplishment of brilliant measures, where victory was certain, in order to spare the blood of his gallant comrades in arms.



## INTRODUCTION.



IF it is by experience that we gain wisdom, and by a comparison of nearly similar events that we can best form an accurate judgment, it will not be irrelevant, in our introductory part, to take a slight sketch of the causes and conduct of a former war carried on by Great Britain in the Peninsula; and that, by a very curious coincidence, nearly in the very corresponding years of the preceding century. In the conduct and issue of that war, and in the conduct and probable issue of the present one, there has, indeed, been a great contrast; for there we were merely as auxiliaries, though now we have acted more immediately as principals. At that period, too, we were in opposition to that branch of the house of Bourbon whose rights we are now defending; and in our objects we were unsuccessful, though without tarnishing the honour of the British name.

When, in the year 1701, Charles II. of Spain, a

branch of the house of Austria, deceased without issue, Philip Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. being second son of the Dauphin of France, assumed the Spanish crown, according to the will of the deceased monarch; but the Emperor of Germany having put up one of his own family as a claimant, it was considered as the interest of Great Britain to support him, in order to prevent the accession of such power to France, by her royal family thus coming into possession of the immense possessions and resources of the Spanish empire. There was also a party in Spain inimical to the French interest; and it was hoped that, by spirited measures, an Austrian prince might be established on the throne of Spain.

Charles III. the Austrian claimant arrived in England in 1703; and, in 1704, an auxiliary force of 12,000 British and Dutch troops was sent to Portugal; the English under Duke Schomberg, and the Dutch under General Fagel. King Charles immediately published a manifesto, setting forth his right to the crown of Spain; and on the arrival of the expedition at Lisbon, the Portuguese having already joined the grand alliance against France, the King of Portugal published a declaration in which he vindicated the claim of Charles, and gave his own reasons for taking up arms in his defence and support.

The Bourbon prince, under the title of Philip V. was not backward in preparing for hostilities, but immediately declared war against his competitor, and also against the King of Portugal and his other allies ; and, having hastily assembled an army, proceeded to the Portuguese frontier, when he captured Segura, Salvatierra, and some other places.

It being understood that the Catalonians were partial to the cause of the allies, Sir George Rooke, with a British squadron, proceeded with the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt and a force of 2,500 men to Barcelona, where he landed the troops ; but being disappointed in his expectations of a flattering reception and coöperation, the army was again embarked, and the squadron proceeded towards Toulon.

In June of the same year, (1704,) the Portuguese were found to be very dilatory in furnishing the proper supplies which they had promised, so that nothing could be done. There was also a great want of cordiality amongst the generals of the three nations, English, Dutch, and Portuguese, so that the Duke of Schomberg, weary of his command, was anxious to be recalled, and was superseded by Henry de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway.

The Spanish monarch in July put an end to his short campaign, on account of the heat of the wea-

ther, and returned to Madrid, having put his army in cantonments ; and, fearing that it would be impossible to retain his petty conquests, destroyed all their fortifications, except those of Salvatierra and Mervan, and abandoned them to their fate.

Though our troops were thus left in idleness, yet our admiral was determined to do something ; accordingly he returned from Toulon towards Gibraltar, and captured that fortress on the 10th of July, after a siege of three days, having landed the Prince of Hesse with only 1,800 men. On the 13th of August the combined English and Dutch fleets defeated the united French squadrons from Toulon and Brest, and obliged them, in a most shattered condition, to retire to Toulon ; a part of them, however, was enabled soon after to proceed to the southward when the combined squadrons had left the straits, and the Sieur de Pontis, with a considerable force, blockaded Gibraltar by sea, the Spaniards having commenced the siege of it in September.

In 1705 Gibraltar was relieved by Sir John Leake, who surprised and defeated the French squadron ; and in May, the Portuguese and confederate forces, having commenced the siege of Alcantara, took it by storm after six days ; Salvatierra and Albuquerque being soon after retaken. In the same month the Earl

of Peterborough was sent from England, with 5,000 additional troops, in a fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel. After touching at Lisbon, where King Charles embarked along with him, they proceeded to Gibraltar, and afterwards to Altea Bay, where a manifesto was published ; and the advices from Barcelona being very encouraging, the earl was induced to proceed there, where he landed the troops, accompanied by the king, and was soon reinforced by great numbers of Spaniards. On the 3d of September Monjuick was taken after a siege of three days, but the gallant Prince of Hesse fell in the attack ; in three weeks afterwards Barcelona surrendered, and all Catalonia immediately declared for King Charles.

On the opposite side of Spain the allies had laid siege to Badajoz, but were obliged soon after to raise it by the Marshal du Thesse, the French general in command of the combined French and Spanish army ; and, in the contest, the Earl of Galway lost his right hand.

The proceedings in Catalonia were, however, considered so important for the general cause, that both houses of parliament at home were induced to congratulate her majesty upon her message informing them of these events, in November, 1705. But the

progress of the allies on the eastern side was still circumscribed, little remarkable happening until the latter end of December, when a Catalonian colonel, of the name of Nebot, was induced to leave the opposite party, with about 950 cavalry, and to join King Charles at Denia, in Valencia, who soon after captured Xabea, a small place in that vicinity, which slight successes seem to have induced the whole kingdom of Valencia to declare in his favour, when his new friend, Colonel Nebot, took possession of its capital.

At the close of the year the French and Spanish armies proceeded to besiege Valencia; but the Earl of Peterborough having marched with the English army to its relief, this plan was given up, and an attack was made upon St. Mattheo; but Peterborough not only obliged them to decamp, but also took possession of Morviedro.

In the early part of 1706 a battle of some importance for the numbers engaged, but of little in its consequences to either party, took place at San Estevan de Libera, after which the Spanish and French troops, under du Thesse, commenced the siege of Barcelona; which was, however, so 'speedily raised, on the arrival of Sir John Leake from Lisbon to its

relief, that the assailants left behind them 106 brass guns, 23 mortars, and an immense quantity of provisions and ammunition. On the opposite side of the kingdom the allies took Alcantara, in which they found 47 pieces of brass cannon; and Moraliza and Coria having soon after fallen, the Earl of Galway published a manifesto in the name of his royal mistress, calling upon the Spaniards to acknowledge King Charles as their lawful monarch.

In May, in the same year, Ciudad Rodrigo was captured by the allies, after a siege of five days; and the news of the raising of the siege of Barcelona having just then arrived, the Portuguese were in high spirits, and the allies proceeded to push through Spain for Madrid, where King Philip returned with all possible expedition; but, soon finding that he had no troops on whom he could depend, he destroyed every thing of value which he could not carry off, and retired towards Burgos in order to be ready for a retreat into France.

On the 26th of May Carthagená declared for the Austrian claimant, and was secured by an English squadron; and in June the English and Portuguese confederate army, commanded by the Earl of Galway and the Marquis des Minas, pushed on for Ma-

Madrid, which made such an impression upon the inhabitants, that deputies were sent out to acknowledge their submission and allegiance to their new monarch. On taking possession of the capital King Charles was proclaimed, and the example of the inhabitants of Madrid was voluntarily followed by Toledo, and several other places of importance, inclusive of the whole kingdom of Arragon. Charles, however, was still with the English army at Barcelona, and is accused of want of celerity in staying too long there, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the Earl of Peterborough, and the invitations of the generals in the capital, who were all anxious that he should repair to Madrid. But even when he set out for that place he occupied so much time in the siege of Saragossa, that the confédérate forces, for some reason never sufficiently explained, had evacuated Madrid, whither King Philip soon after proceeded with a few forces, having had time to recover from his alarm at the former rapidity of movement on the part of his assailants.

In Valencia the war was still carried on with some briskness; and, in July, Sir John Leake proceeded with the English fleet before Alicant, which was immediately afterwards taken by storm, though the castle held out for a short time; but at length surrender-



ed upon an honourable capitulation. This, however, was but of little importance to the cause of Charles ; for the return of Philip to Madrid had such an effect, as to induce the kingdom of Castile to declare for him.

King Charles was, therefore, compelled to join the confederate army at Guadalaxara; and this he was the sooner reduced to, as the Earl of Peterborough, who had just then received the commission of an ambassador extraordinary, was leaving the eastern coast of Spain, in order to proceed for Italy, in hopes of raising some supplies. Soon after Sir John Leake arrived at Majorca with the British fleet, and obliged that island and Iviça to declare for King Charles; but this was shortly counterbalanced by the recapture of Carthagená; and the year was closed with the death of Pedro, King of Portugal.

The year 1707 was a most unfortunate one for the confederate arms ; for, on the 5th of April, they were completely defeated at Almanza, whilst under the command of the Marquis des Minas and the Earl of Galway, having upwards of 10,000 men killed, wounded and taken prisoners. The whole number of British in the action were only 14,000 ; yet it is believed that it was entirely owing to the ill conduct of the Portuguese that the day was lost. So strong

indeed was this opinion, that the house of lords shortly after severely censured the Earl of Galway for having yielded the post of honour on that day to the Portuguese. It was also matter of complaint at home that the number of British troops was so small, although 29,000 had been voted by parliament for the service of the Peninsula.

The shattered remains of the confederate army were, notwithstanding their defeat, able to retire in pretty good order to Alcira, from whence they sent their wounded to Barcelona, and then crossed the Ebro, where King Charles had retired some time before with a small force, and was stationed at Tortosa at the mouth of that river. This movement they were now obliged to make, in order to defend Catalonia.

The victorious army, pursuing their advantage, and being no longer kept in check by the confederates, soon recovered Valencia, Saragossa, &c. but Philip lost much of his popularity by the atrocious conduct of France, in ordering the unfortunate town of Xativa, on the right bank of the river Xucer, in Valencia, to be utterly burnt and destroyed, and in depriving both Arragon and Valencia of some of their most ancient privileges. In July the party of

King Charles was so strong in Italy, that he was proclaimed King at Naples; but his cause began to decline rapidly in Spain, fresh forces having arrived from France, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, who invested and took Limosa, a strong and well fortified town in Catalonia, under the observance of the confederate army; yet to counterbalance this in some degree, the Imperialists, under Count Thaurin in Italy, captured Gaeta by storm, where they laid hold of all the partisans of King Philip in that country, and were thus enabled to secure Naples for King Charles.

So great was the discontent at home at this period, respecting the conduct and issue of the war, that very strong debates were held in both houses; yet nobody thought of giving up the cause, but each body of the legislature came forward with an address to Queen Anne, stating their opinion that no peace could be safe or honourable for the country, or for our allies, which would secure Spain and her colonies to the power of France. They also requested her to call on the emperor to send some additional and powerful reinforcements into Spain, under the command of Prince Eugene, (the Wellington of that day,) but the emperor

appears almost to have neglected this remonstrance from our court, as he merely sent a few troops under Count Stahremberg.

It is also a curious fact, that the house of commons, after a long and close examination, addressed her majesty complaining that there were then only 8,660 British troops in the Peninsula, instead of 30,000, the number voted; to which the answer was, that nearly the whole number voted *had* been sent, but were now thus reduced in consequence of death and desertion.

About the middle of 1708, after a long interval of quiet, the French captured Tortosa on the left bank of the Ebro; an advantage counterbalanced by our conquest of Minorca on the 19th of August by Sir John Leake, and Major General Stanhope, with only 3,264 men; and, in November, Denia and Alicant again fell under the French arms.

The siege of Alicant having been undertaken by the French, and conducted mostly as a blockade for three months, they contrived at last to form a mine under the rock on which the castle stands, which being partly blown up, the governor and several valuable officers lost their lives; yet the castle held out nearly two months longer, and was only forced

to surrender, but on honourable terms, after a siege conducted with great exertion.

On the 27th of April another unfortunate defeat of the confederate troops took place on the banks of the river Caya, after which the Earl of Galway escaped with great difficulty ; but the Earl of Barrymore, Major General Sankey, Brigadier Pearce, and two whole brigades, were made prisoners of war.

Some negotiations about this time had taken place, by which it was stipulated that Charles III. should be acknowledged as the lawful Spanish monarch, and that the French army should evacuate that kingdom ; but Lewis XIV. after amusing himself with the credulity of the allies, laughed at the treaty, and most shamefully evaded its signature, so that the war was recommenced, when Count Stahremberg, the imperial general, was lucky enough to capture fort Ballaquer, on the banks of Rio Segre, in Catalonia, a strong post with a garrison of 700 men.

The French ministry, in 1710, in order to amuse the allies, and to gain time, again made some pacific proposals, in which they offered to consent to a partition of Spain ; but in this the allies knew them to be insincere ; nor would they themselves, indeed, have agreed to it ; and, notwithstanding the Gallic

machinations, the tide of success began to turn in favour of King Charles, whose army, commanded by General Stanhope, (ancestor of the present Earl Stanhope,) defeated King Philip at Almanera, in Catalonia, on the 16th of July, when the French, having lost about 1,500 in killed and wounded, were obliged to retire to Lerida; but, being closely pursued by the confederates, fell back upon Saragossa. On the 10th of the ensuing month, August, King Charles being then with the army, another brilliant victory was obtained over King Philip near Saragossa, which city immediately opened its gates to the conquerors; and so powerful did Charles then feel himself in Castile, that he immediately superseded the form of government established by Philip, restored the ancient rights of the Castilians, and reinstated their former magistrates. Indeed, the French power was at this juncture so weakened, that Philip, not feeling himself safe at Madrid, retired to Valladolid; and the confederates marching towards the capital, General Stanhope advanced with the cavalry, and took possession of it on the 10th September, 1710.

About a fortnight afterwards Charles made his appearance in his capital; but soon found that the inhabitants were more attached to his rival than to him-

self: he soon left it, therefore, and placed his troops in quarters to the southward of it, and in the vicinity of Toledo, in full confidence that, notwithstanding the disaffection of the capital, he might still be enabled to spend the winter thus in the very heart of Spain by the aid of the Portuguese; but they having disappointed him, and King Philip again collecting some forces, he was obliged to retire into Arragon, where, in the succeeding November, Major General Stanhope, with a British force of 2,000 men at Brihuega, was surprised and made prisoner of war, by the unexpected junction of the French and Spanish armies.

The imperial general, Count Stahremberg, hearing of his danger, marched immediately to his relief, but was too late to prevent the disaster; he was fortunate enough, however, to fall in with the enemy under King Philip and the Duke of Vendosme, about one league from Brihuega, when he brought them to action at Villaviciosa, and defeated them, although their forces amounted to 25,000 men. After this Stahremberg advanced to Saragossa; but, for some reason never explained, soon retired into Catalonia, thereby enabling Philip to return to Madrid, where the inhabitants received him with open arms;

and, on the 16th December, Gerona, the key of Catalonia, was permitted to fall into the hands of the French army, after a gallant resistance of six weeks, so that Charles was obliged to retire to Barcelona.

This disastrous and unexpected turn of the campaign naturally produced a great sensation at home : and in the commencement of 1711, the house of lords having entered into an inquiry on the cause of our losses, Lord Peterborough succeeded in throwing the blame upon the Earl of Galway, whilst he himself received public thanks. Instead, however, of sending him out again to Spain, he was appointed plenipotentiary to the Austrian court, and the Duke of Argyle was intrusted with the high commissions of ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary, and of commander in chief in Spain. These proceedings were followed up by a vote of the upper house, that the Earl of Galway, in yielding up the post of honour to the Portuguese at the battle of Almanza, had acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great Britain.

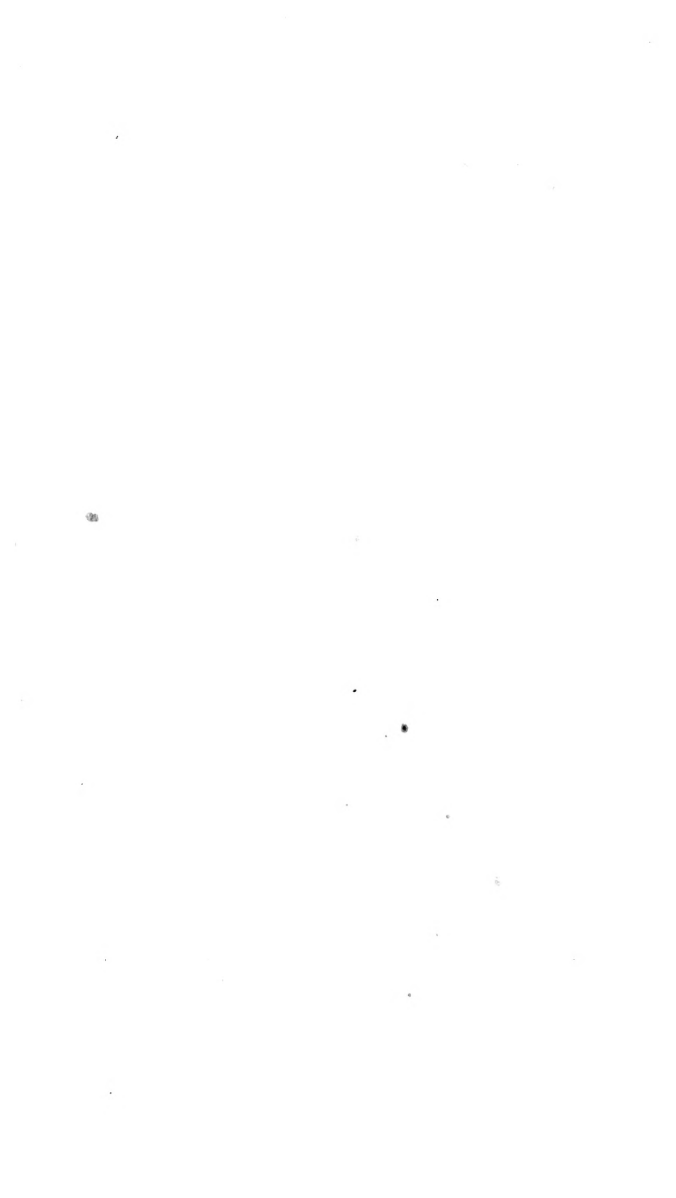
In Spain affairs began to take a more disastrous turn ; for in August, the Portuguese having entered into a separate negotiation with King Philip and the French court, King Charles found it necessary in the ensuing month to embark at Barcelona for Italy. On



his arrival in Italy, he was elected King of the Romans, and Emperor of Germany; and, on being crowned at Frankfort on the 11th of December, 1711, seems to have given up all further thoughts of the Spanish crown. In order to do away some of the objections to his establishment on the throne of Spain, King Philip, now settled at Madrid, published his renunciation of all claims to the succession of France; and in September of the same year, Lord Lexington, having proceeded to Madrid to receive the fore-mentioned renunciation, the English forces, then in Catalonia, commanded by Brigadier Pearce, were embarked on board the squadron under the orders of Sir John Jennings, who immediately proceeded for Minorca, where the colours of King Charles were haled down, and those of the English substituted in their stead.

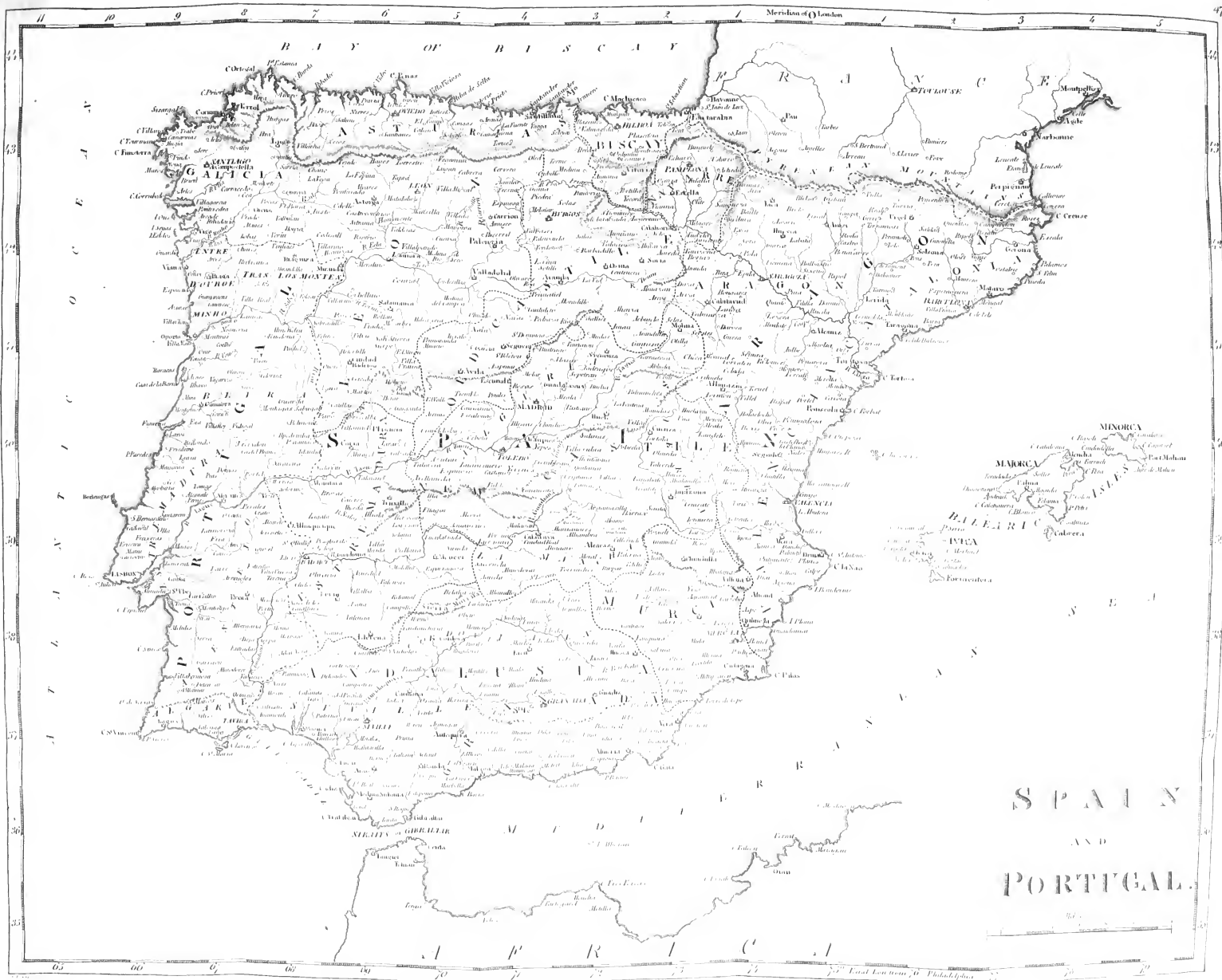
On the 5th of November the act of renunciation took place in the presence of the English ambassador, and was registered by the Cortes, and from that period we may consider the war at an end.

To draw a parallel between those events and the transactions of a later date would here be premature; but we shall have occasion to notice them more fully, and shall now proceed to the principal design of the work.











# LIFE

## OF THE MOST NOBLE

### MARQUIS WELLINGTON.

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#### SECTION I.

Preliminary observation—Ancient respectability of the family of Colley, now Wellesley—Birth—Military education—Progress to the rank of field officer—First military embarkation for Brittany—Observations—Joins the army in Flanders—Capture of Tournay, and anecdotes—Evacuation of Ostend—Judicious conduct of the Earl of Moira—Affair at Alost—Anecdotes of General Doyle—Conduct of the French army—Invasion of Holland—Military anecdotes—Gallant affair at Boxtel—Meritorious conduct of the Governor of Grave—Attack of the Waal—Gallant attack of the Tuyt—Retreat through Holland—Conduct of the Dutch—Affair at Metteren, and gallant behaviour of the 33d regiment—Dreadful sufferings of the army—Exemplary conduct of his royal highness the Duke of York—Evacuation of Holland—Embarkation at Bremen—Return to England

IF example is more powerful than precept, no apology can be necessary for a minute detail of great and virtuous actions; and there is perhaps no mode more generally useful and efficacious for the preservation and extension of that example, than in recording the *biography* of the great and good.

Though the personal worth of the *Marquis of Wellington* is alone sufficient to give splendour to nobility; yet the natural curiosity respecting the origin and family antiquity of such a man induces us to take a slight sketch of his ancestors, who were originally English, being settled in the county of Rutland for time immemorial, under the appellation of Cowley, Cooley, or *Colley*,\* as is now the modern mode of writing it.

\* In Glaiston church, Rutlandshire, there is a monument of Walter Colley, Esq. and Agnes his wife. He was lord of the manor in 1407.

In the reign of Henry VIII. when many gentlemen of family were induced, by royal grants, to emigrate to Ireland, two brothers of this family, Walter and Robert Cowley, established themselves at Kilkenny, and were presented by the king, in his 22d year, with a grant of the office of clerk of the crown in chancery, for and during their lives respectively.

It is evident that both brothers had been brought up to the bar; for the younger became master of the rolls, and the eldest, *Walter*, ancestor of the present family, was appointed solicitor-general of Ireland in 1537; but having surrendered that office in 1546, he was two years afterwards raised to that of surveyor-general of that kingdom.

His eldest son, Sir Henry Colley, appears to have dedicated himself to the profession of arms; for he held a commission from Queen Elizabeth of captain in the army, from whom he also received a warrant, in 1559, to execute martial law in the districts of Offaley, Carbury, &c. His conduct in this important commission was so satisfactory, that he was soon after appointed a commissioner of array for the county of Kildare; and chosen representative for the borough of Thomastown in the county of Kilkenny in the parliament of that year. He was likewise knighted by Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, and appointed a member of the privy council.

This able statesman, by his Lady Catherine, who was a daughter of Sir Thomas Cusack of Cussington, in the county of Meath, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, had three sons, of whom the second, Sir Henry, of Castle Carbury, was the immediate ancestor of the present line. During his father's lifetime, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was constable of Philipstown Fort, afterwards seneschal of the king's county; and, in 1561, appointed by the Earl of Sussex, the lord deputy, providore of the army, similar to the modern office of commissary-general.

He married Anne, daughter of his grace, Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and his eldest son, *Sir Henry Colley*, succeeded him at Castle Carbury, of whom we only find it recorded that he married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Christopher Peyton, Esq. auditor-general of Ireland; and his eldest son, *Dudley*



*Colley*, of Castle Carbury, Esq. having distinguished himself much in the royal cause, was appointed an officer in the army by King Charles II. soon after the Restoration, and had also a grant and confirmation of the lands of Ardkill and Collingstown in Kildare. He was also a member of parliament for Philipstown. This Dudley married Anne, daughter of Henry Warren of Grangebeg, in the county of Kildare, Esq. and had a numerous family by her, of whom Henry was his successor; and a daughter Elizabeth married Garret Wellesley (or Wesley) of Dangan, in the county of Meath, Esq. a family of ancient Saxon extraction, being settled in the county of Sussex.

This Henry Colley, Esq. by his marriage with Mary, only daughter of Sir William Usher, of Dublin, knt. left a numerous family: and his youngest son, *Richard Colley*, was the first who adopted the name of Wellesley, as heir to his first cousin, Garret Wesley, of Dangan, who left him all his estates on condition of his taking the name and arms of that family, all which was granted, and recorded in the herald's office, &c. in 1723. He appears to have held several offices under the crown: was auditor and registrar of the royal hospital of Kilmainham, second chamberlain of the court of exchequer, sheriff of the county of Meath in 1734, and member of parliament for the borough of Trim in the same year. In consideration of his public services, his majesty George II. was pleased to create him a peer of Ireland, by the title of Baron of Mornington, in 1747. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Sale, L. L. D. registrar of the diocese of Dublin, and representative in parliament for the borough of Carysfort; and his eldest son, *Garret*, having succeeded him in his barony, was soon after, in 1760, created Viscount Wellesley and Earl of Mornington, having before that held the office of *custos rotulorum* of the county of Meath. He married Anne, eldest daughter of the right honourable Arthur Hill, Viscount Dungannon, and had issue, the present Marquis of Wellesley, William, now Wellesley Pole, in consequence of inheriting the estates of William Pole, of Ballifin, Esq. ARTHUR, the subject of our present biography, and several other children.

The first earl having died whilst a great part of his family were

yet in their infancy, a most important care devolved upon their amiable mother, whose prudent and energetic conduct overcame the obstacles attendant upon an impaired state of fortune, arising from causes which it had been impossible to counteract. It has been well said, that her wise and liberal economy, in conjunction with the energies of an active and well informed mind, had supplied not only the deficiencies of fortune, but also the loss of a father. It must be confessed, indeed, that much of this power to do good on the part of Lady Mornington arose from the very generous and liberal conduct of the present marquis, who, with a magnanimity and fraternal conduct which must always redound to his honour, gave up the entire management of the family estates to her guidance; and, though in the heyday of youth, not only submitted cheerfully to those prudential restraints which her parental care suggested, but actually paid off all his father's debts, out of an honourable regard to his memory.

ARTHUR, the subject of our present biography, was born at Dangan, near Dublin, on the 1st of May, 1769: and at an early age was sent to Eton, that he might receive the benefit of a public education; and, as he had chosen the army for his profession, he afterwards went, at the close of the American war, to Angiers, in France, in order that he might acquire the theory of military science in that celebrated school, then under the direction of the much esteemed *Pignrol*, who has long been considered as the Vauban of modern warlike architecture and engineering.

While pursuing his studies here, he received his commission as ensign, the 25th December, 1787, and, at the age of twenty-three, he bore the rank of captain in the 18th regiment of light dragoons, from which corps, on the 30th of April, 1793, he was appointed to the majority of his present regiment, the 33d, in the room of Major Gore, who then resigned.

In this junior rank of field-officer he did not long remain, but availed himself of his seniority to purchase in succession from Lieutenant Colonel Yorke, who resigned his commission in that regiment; and his appointment took place on the 30th September, 1793.

Lieutenant Colonel Wellesley, now scarcely four and twenty,

engaged in active service under his gallant countryman the Earl of Moira, and early in 1794 was actually embarked with that force which was intended to have erected the standard of loyalty in Brittany ; but the fate of the Netherlands and of Flanders was no sooner decided by the unfortunate issue of the early part of the campaign of that year, under his royal highness the Duke of York, than his lordship was ordered to proceed with his little army to Ostend.

After the surrender of Tournay, indeed on the very day on which the capitulation was signed, his royal highness was obliged to abandon his position near Oudenarde, and to retire towards Antwerp ; to which city he sent his sick and wounded. The French immediately took possession of Oudenarde, and, most fortunately for themselves, were there supplied, as well as at Tournay, with large quantities both of military stores and provisions, for want of which they must otherwise have soon been in extreme distress.

At this eventful period, the little army under the Earl of Moira arrived at Ostend ; and his lordship, having got intelligence of the perilous situation of his royal highness's forces, soon found it necessary to call a council of war, in which it was considered that it would tend more to the ultimate safety of the British army to proceed immediately to its relief, than to risk the chance of a siege, which the French would certainly undertake ; and in which even the bravest and most protracted defence of the garrison, whilst the French were pressing on the duke with such an imposing force, would not tend in the slightest degree to make a diversion in his favour.

The Earl of Moira himself and his small force had now to proceed by land to the British head-quarters in the face of a superior enemy ; he had taken care, however, with the most admirable degree of military precision, to secure a communication, and to ensure his junction with that part of the allied army under General Clairfayt ; and the rapidity of the march fortunately exposed nothing to chance, though the French general had orders to strike at the corps at all events, and had taken every preliminary measure for that purpose.

Though the evacuation did not take place until the 1st of July, yet Lord Moira had pushed on so fast with the main body of his little force, that, on the 29th of June, he had arrived at Malle, only four miles from Bruges, on the way to Ghent.

On this route he received a letter from the Duke of York, (which had come round by Sluys in consequence of great part of the country being in possession of the enemy,) desiring him to embark his whole army, and to join him at Antwerp; but the proceedings were too far advanced to execute this order. Soon after he received another pressing order to march by Sluys and Sas de Grand, the Bruges road appearing impracticable to his royal highness, and thus to join the British army more rapidly than the passage by sea would allow. Feeling himself completely now justified in his course of proceedings, this prudent and indefatigable officer had, after a most tedious and difficult march, and encountering continual obstacles, reached the town of Alost; but such had been the previous sufferings of his troops, that, from their leaving Ostend until their gaining that position, they were without baggage or tents, and exposed through all their route to the inclemency of a wet and unhealthy season.

Presuming on the fatigue they had endured, and trusting to their consequent weariness, the French attacked them on the 6th of July. The piquets being driven in, they penetrated into the town; but, upon his lordship advancing with a reinforcement, the enemy retreated in confusion.

Though the name of Lieutenant Colonel Wellesley was not mentioned particularly in this affair, we have been given to understand that he (although his own regiment was embarked) had accompanied the army on their march, and commanded a covering party in the rear, on which service he was highly instrumental in the repulse of the French army upon this occasion.

Two days after this action, on the 8th of July, Lord Moira effected a junction with the Duke of York. Soon after the Earl of Moira resigned his command, and returned to England.

During the progress of the retreat of his royal highness, the French having passed the morass at Piel, deemed an insuperable barrier between the contending powers, a sudden attack was made upon all the posts on the right of the British army on the

14th of September, when that of Boxel, the most advanced, was forced, with a loss of 1,500 of the troops of Hesse Darmstadt, who were completely surrounded and cut off. The possession of Boxel by the enemy rendering the whole line of posts untenable, as it completely commanded the river Dommel, which runs immediately into the town by Fort Isabella, the commander in chief thought it absolutely necessary to retake it, and for that purpose detached the reserve, composed of the brigade of guards, and 12th, 33d, 42d, and 44th regiments of the line, with cavalry and artillery. At daybreak on the 15th, General Abercrombie having reconnoitred, found the enemy so strongly posted, that he did not venture to risk the attack without positive orders; and, upon sending back to his royal highness for instructions, he was desired to persist in the attack, but not to proceed further than he thought prudent.

In front, and inclining to the left of Abercrombie's corps, which had advanced through Schyndel, was a plain, skirted by a thick plantation of firs, in which the French had constructed several masked batteries. The Coldstream regiment had been left on piquet at Erp, a village on the river Aa, between Bois le Duc and Helmont. The cavalry, 1st and 3d guards, with the 33d and 44th regiments of the line, pushed on towards the point of attack, the 12th and 42d remaining in reserve on and near Schyndel. Some French hussars showed themselves boldly on the level ground, as a lure to the British cavalry; and, retreating before them, dispersed when they had drawn our unwary squadrons within reach of their batteries, which immediately opening upon them, they sustained some loss before they could possibly fall back. General Abercrombie having little doubt, by this time, of the proximity of the French grand army, and conceiving he had obeyed his orders in the fullest extent, by advancing as far as prudence would justify, determined to recall his troops, and to retreat within the British lines of encampment. About one hundred were killed and wounded during the affair; and although the British retired in very good order, yet the narrowness of the road had caused a regiment of Irish light dragoons to throw the 1st guards into some confusion. Taking ad-

vantage of this delay, the enemy's squadrons advanced in full force; but fortunately the *thirty-third* were formed in the rear. when their gallant leader, with great judgment and promptitude, caused them to open, and permit the dragoons to pass through, when instantly wheeling up into line, they threw in a few cool and well directed volleys into the thickest of the assailants, which obliged them to retreat with precipitation, and thereby enabled General Abercrombie to complete his retreat without further molestation.

On the 2d of December, his royal highness the Duke of York being recalled, the command of the allied armies devolved upon the Hanoverian General Walmoden; and on the 30th of December, 1794, the head-quarters being then at Arnheim, an attack was meditated on the enemy; for which purpose a corps was formed of ten battalions of British infantry, of which the 33d was one, under Major General Lord Cathcart, Major General Gordon, and Lieutenant Colonel Mac Kensie; six squadrons of light cavalry, and one hundred and fifty hussars, under Major General Sir Robert Lawrie; the loyal emigrant corps, and four battalions and four squadrons of Hessians, under Major General de Wurmb: the whole being commanded by Major General David Dundas.

This respectable force was divided into three columns. The left column to attack by the dike: the centre to attack in such a manner as to keep the church of Werdenberg upon its left wing; and the right column, consisting of four British battalions, and the Rohan hussars, to keep their left wing *appuyé* to the Vliet, to turn Tuyl, and to attack it in the rear.

Lord Cathcart found the road by which his column was to march so impracticable, that, being obliged to make a great detour, he could not come up in time; and General Dundas finding, at his arrival near Werdenberg, that the enemy had abandoned it during the night, he thought it advisable to push on with the other two columns, and to begin the attack immediately upon Tuyl.

This attack was executed with such gallantry and spirit by the troops, that, notwithstanding the natural strength of this post.

the abattis of fruit trees, that the enemy had constructed, the batteries of the town of Bommel, which flanked the approach, and the immense number of the defenders, yet it was soon carried, and the enemy driven across the river, (then everywhere passable on the ice,) with a considerable loss. Four pieces of cannon also were taken; and the whole detachment received the highest praise, not only for their spirited conduct in the execution of the enterprise, but also for the patience and perseverance with which they encountered the immense fatigues and hardships, considerably enhanced by the cold and severity of the season.

The success of the whole was so far complete as thus to oblige the invaders to recross the Waal.

Notwithstanding the advantages gained on the 31st of December, yet, as the frost was still increasing, it was judged expedient that General Dundas's corps should fall back upon Lingën, leaving outposts upon the Waal; a movement which was executed on the night of the 3d of January.

The severity of the weather still increasing, the enemy were induced, on the 4th, to recross the Waal near Bommel. The advanced posts of the allies were immediately driven in, and Tuijl fell into the hands of the assailants. General Dundas, notwithstanding, still thought that he should be able to defend Metteren, and thus to check the further progress of the enemy; but the advanced posts of the Hessians, nearest to his post, having been obliged also to fall back, the commander in chief, in concert with the other principal officers, thought it prudent to send orders to him, and also to General Dalwick, to unite their detachments immediately, and at daybreak of the 5th, to make a vigorous attack upon the enemy to drive them across the Waal.

But about two in the afternoon of the 4th, the French attacked the post at Metteren about a mile in front, where part of the 33d regiment, with a piquet of eighty cavalry and two curricule guns were posted; their superior number, and their disposition to surround this brave little detachment, soon made it necessary to fall back on the other part of the regiment, which was supported with two howitzers. In this difficult movement, they

were very hard pressed by a large body of the enemy's hussars, that gallopped along the road with great vivacity.

The troops having beforehand been in an alert situation, the village of Geldermalsen was soon covered by the 42d and 78th; when the whole of the 33d took its place in the line of defence, and the other troops were in reserve on the opposite dike of the Lingn, that river being completely frozen, and everywhere passable.

In the early part of this affair, Colonel Wellesley and his little band must have displayed great activity; but the charge of the superior body of the enemy was so impetuous, both on the cavalry and infantry, that at first they had the advantage, and it is even said, had taken the two curricule guns; but the reserve of the 33d coming up, the guns were retaken, and the enemy repulsed, so as to allow of the gallant few falling back with regularity on the main body.

The enemy still persevering in their attack, and being now reinforced, advanced on the village of Geldermalsen, both in front and flank; but after a great deal of musketry firing, for about an hour, were everywhere repulsed by the steadiness of the troops, and forced to retire.

The violence of the frost having now converted the whole country into a kind of plain, which thereby afforded the greatest facilities to the French army in all their movements, General Dundas thought it necessary to fall back during the night upon Beuren, where General Dalwick was already stationed.

This circumstance, and the excessive fatigue which the troops had undergone in those operations, at a season of the year, and in situations, in which they were often obliged, from want of cantonments, to pass the night without cover, determined the commander in chief to take up a position behind the Leck, extending from Cuylenberg to Wageningen.

Another reason for this movement, was a march made by a considerable column of the enemy, attended by a large train of artillery towards Gorcum; whilst their attack upon the right, combined with an attempt upon Thiel, evidently indicated a



regular plan of operations, even during the severity of the weather.

In the mean time a partial change took place in the movements of the British; for a very considerable and sudden thaw having come on upon the 6th, which offered a prospect of still preserving the position upon the Waal, it was judged proper that the troops which had not yet crossed the Leck should remain in the cantonments they then occupied, and that the rest should again move forward.

On this occasion Lieutenant General Abercrombie and Major General Hammerstein, with the greatest part of their corps, and some Austrian battalions, were to have begun their march upon Thiel, and towards Bommel upon the 7th; and General Dundas's corps received orders in consequence, to occupy Beuren, and the heights near it, on the 8th, in order that they might coöperate with the former detachments.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, it was extremely changeable; and it had happened very unfortunately that the frost set in again most unexpectedly; but as the troops were already put in motion, and counter orders might have prevented a combination, from the extent of the line, General Dundas having assembled his corps, with a zeal and exertion both on his part and that of the different commanding officers, which drew forth the highest praise from the commander in chief; he proceeded towards Beuren on the morning of the 8th, having detached in advance two battalions, who were afterwards to have marched upon Thiel, to coöperate in the attack upon that place. On their arrival at Beuren, they found all the British posts upon the Lingen driven in, and the enemy in force near Beuren; but as soon as more troops came up, Lord Cathcart was sent forward in advance, and soon drove back the enemy, with great loss, beyond Geldermalsen.

The retreat of the British army was still, however, absolutely necessary, but under circumstances of the most horrible suffering, which cannot be related better than in the words of an eye-witness.

“ On the 16th of January we marched at the appointed hour ;

and, after a very laborious journey, about three o'clock in the afternoon reached the verge of an immense desert, called the Welaw, when, instead of having a resting place for the night, as we expected, we were informed that we had fifteen miles further to go. Upon this information many began to be very much dejected, and not without reason; for several of us, besides suffering the severity of the weather, and fatigue of the march, had neither eat nor drank any thing, except water, that day.

“For the first three or four miles such a dismal prospect appeared as none of us was ever witness to before; a bare sandy desert, with a tuft of withered grass, or solitary shrub, here and there. The wind was excessively high, and drifted the snow and sand together so strong, that we could hardly wrestle against it: to which was added a severity of cold almost insufferable. The frost was so intense, that the water which came from our eyes, freezing as it fell, hung in icicles to our eyelashes; and our breath, freezing as soon as emitted, lodged in heaps of ice about our faces, and on the blankets or coats that were wrapped round our heads.

“Night approaching fast, a great number, both men and women, began to linger behind, their spirits being quite exhausted, and without hope of reaching their destination; and if they once lost sight of the column of march, though but a few moments, it being dark, and no track to follow, there was no chance of finding it again. In this state numbers were induced to sit down, or creep under the shelter of bushes, where, weary, spiritless, and without hope, a few moments consigned them to sleep; but, alas! whoever slept waked no more; their blood instantly congealed in their veins, the spring of life soon dried up; and if ever they opened their eyes, it was only to be sensible of the last moments of their miserable existence.

“Others, sensible of the danger of sitting down, but having lost the column, wandered up and down the pathless waste, surrounded with darkness and despair; no sound to comfort their ears but the bleak whistling wind; no sight to bless their eyes but the wide trackless waste, and ‘shapeless drift;’ far from human help, far from pity, down they sunk—to rise no more!”

The sufferings of the British army, at this period, were indeed great in the extreme. Removing the sick in wagons without sufficient clothing to keep them warm, in that rigorous season, had sent some hundreds to their graves; whilst the shameful neglect that then pervaded all the medical departments had rendered the hospitals nothing better than slaughter-houses.

Without covering, without attendance, and even without clean straw, and sufficient shelter from the weather, they were thrown together in heaps, unpitied and unprotected, to perish by contagion, whilst legions of vultures, down to the stewards, nurses, and their numberless dependants, pampered their bodies, and filled their pockets with the nation's treasure.

Though the sufferings which Colonel Wellesley must now have endured were great in the extreme, in common with the whole army, yet these were to him a school of experience; and he has ever since directed his best attentions to the comfort of his troops, whose conduct, under the most trying circumstances, have always tended to their glory.

At this period the diminished British army had every disadvantage to encounter; for through the activity of the French commanders, and the inhospitable feelings of the Dutch, whose hatred was never concealed when they had fair and safe opportunities of manifesting it, they were totally unable to make any thing like a determined stand. On the 27th of January, 1795, they were able to reach Deventer, after one of the most fatiguing and distressing marches which perhaps was ever experienced by a retreating army. Here, then, they fondly hoped to enjoy some little respite from their sufferings, and from the absolute necessity of the most sedulous attention; for, notwithstanding all their sufferings, such had been their courage and perseverance, as to enable them in the midst of their arduous trials to convey with safety to this rendezvous all the ammunition and military stores, artillery, and implements of war of all descriptions belonging to the army.

Further than this, however, from the unwillingness of the country people to supply them with cattle and wagons, and from the rapid diminution of their strength, they were unable to convey

them, and were therefore obliged to destroy great part to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, whose rapid approach made it necessary to evacuate Deventer on the 29th.

On the 10th of July they were able to cross the Vecht, and two days after to reach the Ems; still pursued by a harassing enemy, who, however, never dared to attack them seriously until the 24th of the month, when a large and superior body of the French army came up with the rear. An action immediately took place; but our little band displayed such firmness that the assailants were totally unable to make any impression upon them, and were obliged to allow them to resume their march, and to pursue it unmolested into the country of Bremen, where the kindness of the German boors formed a most pleasing contrast to the sullen apathy, or more spiteful enmity of the Dutch.

During the whole of this arduous retreat, Lieutenant Colonel Wellesley, at the head of three battalions, had covered all the movements; and, even under circumstances of the greatest and most peculiar difficulty, acted in such a manner as to excite the applause of all, and to gain the approbation of his superiors.

## SECTION II.

Arrival in India—Projected attempt on Manilla—Expected war in the Caribbean—Preliminary observations—Religious customs and manners of the Hindoos—Political state of society---Tippoo Sultaun's politics--His negotiations with France--French troops landed at Mangalore—Governor General's reasons for engaging in the war—Insidious conduct of the Sultaun--Formation of the army for the Mysore—Nizam's subsidiary contingent put under the separate command of Colonel Wellesley—Anecdotes of Lieutenant General Harris—Advance of the army—Skirmishes and attacks of the enemy--Battle of Mallavelli—Advance to Seringapatam—Siege of that important city and fortress--Brilliant attacks conducted by Colonel Wellesley--Affair of the Sultaunpettah---Storm and surrender---Anecdotes of forlorn hope, &c.---Anecdotes of Colonel Dunlop---Tippoo's conduct and fall-- Anecdotes of General Sir David Baird---Discovery of Tippoo's body---Anecdotes of Tippoo Sultaun---Anecdotes of the Storm---Changes in the Mysore government---Tippoo's sons sent prisoners to Vellore, and the rightful Rajah reinstated on the throne of his ancestors---Treasure found in the palace, &c.---Beneficial consequences of the fall of Tippoo---Gratitude of the army to Lord Mornington, and his exemplary self denial--Gallant and judicious conduct of Colonel Wellesley against Dhoondia Waugh---Battle of Conahgull, &c. &c. &c.

A NEW era now arrived in which the splendid abilities of Colonel Wellesley had an opportunity of being brought forward, his brother, the Earl of Mornington, (now Marquis of Wellesley,) being appointed to the high and important station of governor general of our oriental empire, whither the colonel, with his own regiment, accompanied him; and they arrived at Kedgerce at the mouth of the Ganges, on board the *Virginie* frigate, on the 17th of May, 1793, when the governor general proceeded for Calcutta, went through the usual ceremonies, and took on him the execution of his arduous office.

The Spanish war having then been commenced, an attack on their settlements at the Philippine Islands was determined on, and a large force not only assembled, but partly embarked for that service, in which Colonel Wellesley would have enjoyed a high command; but the intrigues of the French with the native princes of India, obliged the governor general to change his plans on the instant, and reserve his troops for the defence of the British territories.

Notwithstanding the friendly protestations of Tippoo Sultaun, the experience of the campaigns under the Marquis of Cornwallis had shown that the loss of the Coimbatore country and other districts, and even of many of his hill forts in the Mysore, had produced no steady effect on his mind, and he seemed to fear nothing whilst he possessed his capital; the Earl of Mornington, therefore, determined on decisive measures; and the reduction of Seringapatam was considered as an object of the first consideration.

The important operations which now took place in India require a few preliminary lines.

Tippoo Sultaun, impelled by his rooted enmity to the British nation, had already despatched two ambassadors, who embarked at Mangalore for the Isle of France, and arrived at that island towards the close of January, 1793. These ambassadors were received publicly and formally by the French government, with every circumstance of distinction and respect; and they were entertained at the public expense during their continuance on the island.

Previous, indeed, to the arrival of the ambassadors in that island, no idea, nor even rumour, existed there of any aid to be furnished to Tippoo by the French, or of any prospect of a war between that prince and the company; but, within two days after their arrival, a proclamation was issued by the governor general, stating that an embassy had arrived with letters from Tippoo Sultaun, addressed not only to the government of the Isle of France, but to the executive directory at home, proposing to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance, to subsidize whatever troops France might send to his assistance, and to commence against British India a war, for which the Sultaun was described as fully prepared; and stating at the same time that he was waiting with anxiety the moment when the assistance of France should enable him to satisfy his ardent desire of expelling the British nation from that country.

Such a proclamation was no doubt very impolitic, as giving full warning to England of what she might expect, and thereby enabling the Company's servants in India to be upon their guard,

for the proclamation soon found its way to Calcutta; but as it concluded by offering encouragement to the subjects of France to enter into the service of Tippoo Sultaun, on terms to be fixed with his ambassadors then on the spot, it is likely the governor thought a full development necessary to encourage the plan in view of raising men.

Tippoo Sultaun, therefore, having actually concluded these offensive and defensive engagements with France, then our enemy; having permitted the French troops to land publicly at Mangalore, and having thus collected by their aid a force openly destined to carry those engagements into effect; having also applied to the directory of France for a more powerful force, destined to the same end; and having also declared that the delay of the meditated blow proceeded from no other cause than his expectation of receiving further aid from the enemy; the Earl of Mornington conceived himself perfectly justified in asserting that the Sultaun had most flagrantly violated the treaties existing between him and the Company, and that he had actually committed an act of direct hostility and aggression against the British government in India.

In addition to this, the governor general had received undoubted intelligence that Tippoo had for some time previous been entirely employed in military preparations, in perfect conformity with the hostile spirit of his engagements with our inveterate enemy; that the greatest part of his army was in a state of equipment for the field; and that a considerable portion of it was actually encamped under his personal command.

All this, however, was in direct opposition to the communications from Tippoo himself; for he had not then attempted to allege even the pretext of a grievance against the British government; and even in his letters to Sir John Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, whilst his ambassadors were actually at the Isle of France, nay, dated on the very day on which the French force landed at Mangalore, he declared that "his friendly heart was disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord between the two na-

tions ;<sup>17</sup> and he concluded with expressing a desire that Sir John would impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between the two states. Lord Mornington was fortunately not to be cajoled by these pacific declarations ; but considering the act of Tippoo Sultaun's ambassadors, ratified by himself, and followed up by the admission of a French force into his army, as equivalent to a public, unqualified, and unambiguous, declaration of war, he determined on an immediate attack upon his capital, as demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice and policy, and as the best and surest means of frustrating the execution of his unprovoked and unwarrantable projects of ambition and revenge.

The departure of the large force destined for Manilla, it was afterwards ascertained, would have proved a signal to the watchful vengeance of Tippoo to invade the Carnatic, even without waiting for the aid of a French force, the assistance of which did not appear necessary to him during the contemplated absence of such a considerable portion of our army.

The whole proposed plan of operation became, therefore, necessarily changed, and the Madras army, under Lieutenant General Harris, was concentrated at Vellore, in the Carnatic ; but, from the unavoidable delays in providing the necessary equipments for so large a force, it was not in a condition to begin its march before the 11th of February, 1799. The contingent of the Nizam, amounting to about 6,000 of the Company's troops, under the command of Colonel Roberts, and subsidized by his highness, together with the same number of his own native infantry, marched from Hyderabad, under the command of Meer Allum Bahauder, and had arrived at Chittoor, even before General Harris was ready to march from Vellore.

In order to give the Nizam's force the utmost respectability, the commander in chief not only strengthened it with some of the Company's battalions, but appointed the 33d regiment to join it, giving the general command of the British force thus serving to Colonel Wellesley.

This arrangement, which was highly pleasing to Meer Allum.



added greatly to the confidence of his troops, and tended much to render them essentially useful.

Colonel Wellesley had thus under his command the whole of the Nizam's detachment, forming the reserve of the army, and comprising his own regiment the 33d, the 11th, part of the 2d and 4th, two battalions of the 1st Bengal regiment, two brigades of artillery, the Nizam's infantry commanded by Captain Malcolm, and the cavalry of the same prince commanded by their own native officer, Meer Allun. Along with these he had a distinct staff; and the cavalry alone amounted to 6,000 men; the whole army under General Harris being returned 36,959 fighting men, all well equipped, amply and liberally supplied, excellent in discipline, and never surpassed by any army ever formed in India, in the skill and ability of the officers in all departments.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the expedition was begun under untoward circumstances, for the cumbrous baggage and numerous attendants on the Nizam force, as well as that of the European troops, the immense quantity of public stores and provisions, the long train of ordnance, with above forty thousand Benjarres, formed altogether such a host as not to admit of being covered by the effective force; so that if Tippoo had employed his powers, with the military skill which he was supposed to possess, he might, without hazarding an engagement, by desultory skirmishes, distant cannonades, and other hostile movements, have so harassed the infantry, and weakened the cavalry, that a great part of the baggage, stores, and ammunition, would probably have fallen into his hands, and the army have thus been greatly impeded in its march to the place of destination, particularly as the rainy season was then near setting in.

The commander in chief, Lieutenant General Harris, having determined to advance to Seringapatam, by the route of Talgauporam and Cankanelli, the march commenced at daybreak on the 10th of March, 1799. The cavalry were in advance, the baggage on the right, and the detachment under Colonel Wellesley, which had marched by the left, moved parallel at some distance on the right flank of the army.

Even on the first day's advance, the enemy began to annoy them. Parties of their horse were in all directions, and were not only active in burning the forage, and destroying the villages, but had even the audacity to attack Colonel Wellesley's rear guard, consisting of a company of Sepoys. Of these twenty were killed upon the spot, and Lieutenant Reynolds, and thirty-six wounded; but the commanding officer taking prompt steps, they were immediately repulsed.

On the 19th, after a fatiguing march through a country full of jungles and defiles, intelligence was received that the army of Tippoo had advanced to Allagoor, a village near Sultaunpettah; and on the 28th, the left wing and the cavalry having encamped close to a pass about seven miles from Cankanelli, the right were advanced to Arravully, and Colonel Wellesley's division took up its ground at some distance in the rear.

On the 23d, after securing several posts and passes of importance, the right wing of the cavalry marched from Achil, and encamped at Sultaunpettah, the left wing and the battering train advancing to Achil, while Colonel Wellesley, with his detachment, marched from Cankanelli, and encamped in front of the army, and the village of Allagoor, from whence the Sultaun's army had retired. Early on the morning of the day, as the colonel and his advance approached Sultaunpettah, a cloud of dust to the westward evidently denoted that the army of Tippoo was then in motion, and it afterwards appeared that it had just quitted its position on the westward bank of the Maddoor river, and had encamped at Mallavelly. As the movements from this date led to an action in which the colonel had an opportunity of greatly distinguishing himself, we shall notice them more minutely from the observations of an eyewitness.

Pursuing their march, the right wing, the cavalry, and the detachment under Colonel Wellesley, halted on the 25th of March, and were joined by the left wing and the battering train. On the 26th the whole moved in compact order, and encamped five miles to the eastward of Mallavelly. This gave Tippoo an opportunity of executing part of his intentions; for the spies on

their return from his camp, positively asserted that he had declared his intention of attacking them "as soon as they ventured out of the jungles," or thick forests through which they had to pass; and his having waited some days encamped on the banks of the Maddoor appeared to confirm the truth of their reports.

The ground taken up by the army on the 26th was open, and easily to be seen from the adjoining heights; and the enemy's advanced parties, amongst which were some elephants, soon appeared upon a distant ridge. From thence, after reconnoitring the British encampment for a considerable time, they retired, and in the evening fourteen or fifteen guns were seen in motion; the whole of which circumstances seemed to point out that the Sultaun was preparing for the execution of his threatened attack.

On the 27th, therefore, at daybreak, Colonel Wellesley's division was ordered to move parallel to the left, but at some distance, so as to cover the baggage, and to be in readiness to act as circumstances should require; whilst the main body of the army marched from its left flank on the great road leading to Mallavelly. Major General Floyd commanded the advance of the whole, having under him all the piquets; together with five regiments of cavalry; he approached within a mile of Mallavelly, but was there obliged to halt, in consequence of discovering a numerous body of the enemy's cavalry on the right flank, whilst their infantry remained on the heights beyond that place.

He was convinced that this was Tippoo's grand army; and, having reconnoitred his position, discovered some guns moving towards the right of the enemy's line, as if with the intention of occupying a ridge which enfiladed the low ground on the eastern flank of the village. He immediately concluded that these guns were intended to open upon our line whilst passing this ground; and having given the proper information to the commander in chief, measures were immediately taken for an instant attack, in order to frustrate his plans.

Colonel Wellesley, with his division, was directed to attack the Sultaun's right flank, whilst the piquets, under Colonel Sherbrooke, supported by the right wing of the main body, under

Major General Brydges, were to penetrate through the village of Mallavelly towards the centre of the enemy's line; and Major General Popham, with the left wing and the rear guard, was to remain at the fort end of the village of Mallavelly, for the protection of the battering train and the baggage; the five regiments of cavalry being formed on the left of the road, with orders to support Colonel Wellesley's attack.

The colonel no sooner put his force in motion, and his manœuvre was perceived by the Sultaun, than the guns were drawn off to a ridge beyond that which they at first occupied. Here the main body of the enemy's infantry was drawn up, but at so great a distance, that it was at first imagined they were about to retire; and at this period General Harris, who had led the piquets and the right wing in person, arrived at the fort of Mallavelly, while Lieutenant Colonel Richardson, the quartermaster-general, having advanced to reconnoitre the ground on the western side of the fort, now waited for instructions.

The general, indeed, was of opinion, from the enemy remaining at so great a distance, that he did not mean to advance; he, therefore, gave orders to Colonel Richardson to mark out the ground for a new encampment, which he performed under the protection of Colonel Sherbrooke with the piquets, reinforced by the 25th light dragoons, and the second regiment of native cavalry. He had scarcely, however, marked out this new ground, when twelve or fourteen guns were opened from different parts of the enemy's line, at a distance of two thousand yards. Though at this distance they soon got the range, and did some execution; but our advanced troops were soon in motion, for Colonel Sherbrooke immediately pushed forward with the piquets to a village in front of the left of the hostile army, from which he soon drove off a party of their cavalry and rocket men. This position was of such consequence that a body of the enemy's horse soon began to hover on our right flank; but they were kept in check by the 25th dragoons, under Colonel Cotton, who still maintained their position. The piquets were, indeed, now the most advanced part of the army, and had been most ju-

ditionally posted by Colonel Sherbrooke with their right to the village; but they were now considerably annoyed by the cannonade and rockets; and, the cannonade increasing, the 5th, 1st, and 3d brigades were ordered to advance and form upon his left.

At this juncture Colonel Wellesley, supported by Major General Floyd, with the three remaining regiments of cavalry, advanced *en échelon* of battalions; and the whole line thus moving slowly and steadily, time was given for the whole to act together, the enemy's cannonade being answered by as many of the fieldpieces as could be brought up; the action thus becoming general along the whole front. At this moment a desperate attempt was made on the part of Tippoo, by moving forward a column to the number of two thousand men, in excellent order, towards the 33d regiment, but this gallant corps, reserving its fire with the utmost steadiness, received that of the enemy at the distance of sixty yards; and, continuing to advance, the column gave way and were thrown into disorder, at which critical moment General Floyd making a rapid charge completed the rout with great slaughter.

The enemy's first line, with the whole of its guns, was now forced, by the advance of the whole British line, to retire to the next height, where their second line was formed. They were at this time almost beyond the reach of our guns, and the cannonade, which had lasted three hours, having ceased on both sides, on account of the distance, the enemy retreated: indeed, it may be said that the action, properly speaking, was of very short duration; for, although some corps of their infantry, as well as cavalry, exhibited the strongest proofs of courage, yet it was totally impossible for them to withstand the determined valour and steadiness of the British force.

The British loss was inconsiderable, three officers only being wounded, six Europeans killed, and thirty-four wounded; the loss of our native troops amounting to only about half that number; but though the enemy appeared to suffer severely, yet it was impossible to ascertain the extent of their loss, as they car-

ried off both killed and wounded, which were afterwards understood to have amounted to upwards of one thousand; and it was afterwards accurately known, that of the column which attacked Colonel Wellesley, and was afterwards charged by General Floyd, only two hundred and thirty remained on the field, in a state for service, after the action was over. It has also been mentioned that some of the prisoners asserted that the infantry were driven on by the horse, and ordered to attack the British; a fact further corroborated by an eyewitness, who adds, that the firmness of those corps which opposed his majesty's 33d regiment, as well as the gallantry of a party of horse that charged the European brigade, was perhaps never exceeded by the Sultaun's troops on any former occasion.

On the approach towards Seringapatam Colonel Wellesley, with his division, accompanied by the cavalry, and the right wing of the army, encamped on the north side of the river Cauvery, whilst the left wing crossed that river at a very practicable ford, a movement which tended much to defeat the proposed plans of the enemy against their advance.

On the 1st of April, 1799, the whole army was within thirteen miles of Seringapatam; on the 3d the army marched by the left, and Colonel Wellesley's division, keeping on the right, moved along the bank of the river, the whole encamping again upon the high road, at the distance of five miles from that fortress.

To go through all the details of this important siege would be far beyond our proposed limits; we shall, therefore, briefly state that on the 5th of April the whole British army took up its ground opposite the west face of the fort of Seringapatam, at the distance of only three thousand five hundred yards, the left being to the river Cauvery, whilst Colonel Wellesley, with his division, was encamped *en potence*, to the right of the whole.

In front of the British camp were several ruined villages, and rocky eminences, besides an aqueduct, which, passing from the left of the camp, takes there an easterly direction till it approaches within seventeen hundred yards of the fort, where it winds off to the right to a large grove of cocoa trees and bam-

boos, called the Sultaunpettah Tope: and these positions afforded cover for the enemy's infantry and rocket men so near to the camp, that many of the rockets thrown from these places fell among the tents.

In order to dislodge them from this cover, Colonel Wellesley had orders, on the evening of the 5th of April, to have the 33d regiment, and the 2d Bengal regiment, in readiness at sunset; whilst Colonel Shaw with the 12th, and two battalions of Sepoys with their guns, received similar orders: the former being destined to scour the Sultaunpettah Tope, whilst the latter was to attack the posts at the aqueduct. It was a little after sunset before these detachments advanced, which they did both at the same instant, the obscurity of the night being at the same time rather unfavourable to their operations. Colonel Wellesley, immediately upon entering the Tope, was assailed from it on every side by a hot fire of musketry and rockets, which circumstance added to the darkness of the night, the uncertainty of the enemy's force and position, and the badness of the ground, obliged him solely to confine his operations to the mere object of making a diversion, and to postpone the attack of the post until a more favourable opportunity, whilst Colonel Shaw was enabled to seize upon a ruined village within forty yards of the aqueduct, so as to secure his troops from the musketry of the enemy, who, however, still retained possession of the aqueduct itself.

The commander in chief the next morning (the 6th) observing that the village where Colonel Shaw was posted was still much galled by the enemy's musketry, a reinforcement during the night having arrived at the aqueduct, and feeling that the possession of the Sultaunpettah Tope was absolutely necessary not only for the support of Colonel Shaw's post, but also for the security of the camp against the annoyance of the enemy's rockets, he made a disposition to drive in the whole of the enemy's outpost extending from the Cauvery to the Tope, and ordered that three distinct, but simultaneous, attacks should be made under cover of some guns brought forward for that purpose.

The attack on the Sultaunpettah Tope was again intrusted to

Colonel Wellesley; Colonel Shaw was to advance from the ruined village which he occupied, and to dislodge the party posted in the aqueduct; whilst Colonel Wallace was to attack a village on the enemy's right flank, with the grenadiers of the 74th and two companies of Sepoys; and the whole was to take place exactly at nine o'clock.

At the appointed hour Colonel Wellesley advanced to the attack of the Tope with the Scotch brigade, two battalions of Sepoys, and four guns; and the enemy firing under cover of the bank of the aqueduct, their fire was returned by a few discharges from the fieldpieces, when the whole corps rushed on with great gallantry; and the colonel having judiciously detached parties to take the post in flank, the enemy were thereby immediately thrown into confusion, and forced to retire with great precipitation. At this precise moment Colonel Wallace took possession of the village, on the right flank, which commanded a considerable part of the aqueduct; and Colonel Shaw having quitted the ruined village, rushed upon the enemy, and drove them from that part of the aqueduct from which he had been so much annoyed during the night; the whole of the advanced line of posts was immediately occupied by our troops, the success of those brilliant attacks, so ably planned, and so gallantly executed, securing to the assailants a strong connected line of posts, extending from the river to the Tope, a distance of about two miles, forming, in some measure, by means of the aqueduct, a complete line of contravallation at a proper distance both from the camp and from the line of attack.

On the 26th, the enemy still retaining possession of parts of an entrenchment, at the distance of two hundred and thirty yards from the approaches, it was found necessary, in order to facilitate the further operations of the siege, that they should be dislodged from it to secure the working parties from the effects of musketry. It was settled that all the batteries should keep up a smart fire upon these works, and also on the entrenchments, for at least half an hour before the assailants advanced; but that as soon as they should be seen to approach the posts of the enemy,



then the fire should be directed against that line of fire, in the fort itself, from which most annoyance might be expected.

The direction of these attacks was given to Colonel Wellesley, who on that day commanded in the trenches, which he did with such precision and gallantry, that the two columns, which advanced a little after sunset, stormed the entrenchment with great spirit, threw the enemy into confusion, and succeeded in establishing the posts, which were immediately secured as effectually as possible from the annoyance of the fire from the works.

The batteries having at noon, on the 3d of May, rendered the breach almost practicable, scaling ladders, fascines, and other materials, were ordered to be sent to the trenches, after sunset, and to be kept in readiness for the assault.

The breach being considered practicable on the evening of the 3d, the troops destined for the assault were stationed in the trenches before daybreak of the 4th, at which time Colonel Wellesley was ordered to take the command of the reserve in the advanced works, in order to act as circumstances might point out, his own regiment, the 33d, forming part of the left column, under Lieutenant Colonel Dunlop, which was to attack the northern rampart.

About half past one in the afternoon, General Baird having completed his arrangements, stepped out of the trench, drew his sword, and, in the most heroic and animating manner, said to his men, "Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers!" In an instant both columns rushed from the trenches, and entered the bed of the river, under cover of the fire of the batteries; but, being immediately discovered by the enemy, they were assailed by rockets and musketry. In six minutes the forlorn hope, closely followed by the rest of the troops had reached the summit of the breach, where the British colours were almost instantly displayed; a most glorious and animating sight to the rest of the army, whose anxiety was immediately relieved; for until our troops had crossed the ditch, (although every precaution was taken for filling it if necessary,)

even the most sanguine minds could not be utterly void of doubt.\*

In a few minutes more the breach, one hundred feet wide, was crowded with men, who being now collected in sufficient force to enter upon the rampart, filed off to the right and left according to General Baird's instructions.

The conduct of Tippoo himself was on this occasion highly creditable to his personal character. According to his usual custom, he went out early in the morning to one of the cavaliers of the outer rampart, whence he could observe what was doing on both sides. He remained there till about noon, when he took his usual repast under a pandal. At this time he seems to have had no idea of an immediate attack, even though told that the British lines were unusually crowded with Europeans; but merely sent orders to Meer Goffar, a favourite officer, to keep a strict guard. He was informed a few minutes afterwards that Meer Goffar was killed by a cannon shot. "Well," said he, "Meer Goffar was never afraid of death." Yet he was evidently agitated, ordered the troops near him immediately under arms, and desired his servants to load his carbines; and, hastening along the ramparts towards the breach, he then met a number of his troops flying before the van of the assailants, who, he now first perceived, had mounted the walls. Here he exerted himself to rally the fugitives, encouraging them both by voice and example. He repeatedly fired on our troops himself, and one of his servants asserted that he saw him bring down several Europeans from the breach.

At this critical moment, the front of the European flank com-

\* The forlorn hope was led by a sergeant of the light company of the Bombay European regiment, who volunteered his services on the occasion; his name was Graham. He ran forward to examine the breach, and mounting it he pulled off his hat, and with three cheers called out "Success to Lieutenant Graham," (alluding to his having a commission if he survived,) on which he rejoined his party, and remounted with them with the colours in his hand. Upon reaching the rampart, he stuck the colour staff in it, exclaiming, "Damn 'em, I'll show them the British flag!" and was at that moment shot through the head. The gallant fellow left a European widow and four children behind him, who were, however, taken care of.

panies approached the spot where he stood; he now found himself almost deserted, and was forced to retire to the traverses of the north ramparts. These he defended one after another with the bravest of his men and officers, and indeed several times, assisted by the enfilading fire from the inner walls, obliged our troops to halt in their advance, until the 12th regiment, crossing the inner ditch, took him in flank. Yet even then, whilst any of his troops remained with him, he disputed every inch of ground, until he approached the passage across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort. Here he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a bad wound when very young; and ordering his horse to be brought, he mounted; but seeing the Europeans still advancing on both the ramparts, he made for the gate followed by his palanquin, and a number of officers, troops, and servants. Here, as he was crossing to the gate, he received a musket ball in his right side, nearly as high as the breast; he, however, still pressed on until he was stopped about half way through the arch of the gateway, by the fire of the 12th light infantry from within, when he received a second ball close to the other. The horse he rode on, being also wounded, sunk under him; and his turban fell to the ground. Many of his people fell at the same time, on every side, by musketry both from within and without the gate. The fallen Sultaun was immediately raised by some of his adherents, and placed upon his palanquin under the arch, and on one side of the gateway, where he lay or sat some minutes, faint and exhausted, till some Europeans entered the gateway. A servant who survived related that one of the soldiers seized his sword belt which was very rich, and attempted to pull it off; that the Sultaun, who still held his sword in his hand, made a cut at the soldier with all his remaining strength, and wounded him about the knee; on which he put his piece to his shoulder, and shot the Sultaun through the temple, when he instantly expired! No less than three hundred men were killed under this gateway, besides numbers wounded, so that it soon became impassable, except over the bodies of the dead and dying.

During the contest, and before the palace of Tippoo was actually given up, Major Allan had gone in with a flag of truce, in order to convince the princes, the sons of Tippoo, of the folly of resistance. All of them were alarmed at the proposal; and were particularly reluctant to allowing the gates to be opened except on the authority of their father, to whom they desired to send. At length, however, Major Allan having promised that he would post a guard of their own Sepoys within, and a party of Europeans on the outside, and having also given them strong assurances that no person should be allowed to enter the palace, except by his authority, and that he would return and remain with them until General Baird arrived, he convinced them of the necessity of compliance, and had the satisfaction of observing that the princes, as well as their attendants, seemed to rely with confidence on the assurances he had given them.

On opening the gate, he found General Baird and several officers with a large body of troops assembled; and he then returned into the palace for the purpose of bringing the princes to the general. He had some difficulty, however, in conquering the alarm, and the objections which they raised as to quitting the palace; but they at length permitted him and Colonel Close to conduct them to the gate.

The indignation of General Baird was at that time justly raised, by a report which had then reached him, that the Sultaun had most inhumanly murdered all the Europeans who had fallen into his hands during the siege; this was heightened, probably, by a momentary recollection of his own sufferings, during more than three years' imprisonment in that very place; he was nevertheless sensibly affected by the sight of the princes; and his gallantry on the assault was not more conspicuous than the moderation and humanity he displayed on this occasion. He received the unhappy princes with every mark of regard, repeatedly assuring them that no violence or insult should be offered to them, and he gave them in charge to Lieutenant Colonel Agnew and Captain Marriott, by whom they were conducted to head-quarters in camp, escorted by the light company of Colonel Wellesley's

own regiment, the 33d, whilst, as they passed, the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presented arms.

General Baird now determined to search the most retired parts of the palace, in hopes of finding Tippoo Sultaun. He ordered the light company of the 74th regiment, followed by others, to enter the palace yard. Tippoo's troops were immediately disarmed, and search was made through the various apartments. The *killedar*, or commanding officer of the palace, being entreated, if he had any regard for his own life, or that of the Sultaun, to inform the British where he was concealed, he laid his hand upon the hilt of Major Allan's sword, and in the most solemn manner protested that the Sultaun was not in the palace, but that he had been wounded during the assault, and lay in a gateway in the north face of the fort, whither he offered to conduct the party, saying that if it was found that he had deceived them, the general might inflict on him whatever punishment he pleased. General Baird, on hearing the report of the *killedar*, proceeded to the gateway, which was covered with many hundreds of the slain. The number of the dead, and the darkness of the place, made it difficult to distinguish one person from another, and the scene was altogether shocking; but aware of the great political importance of ascertaining beyond the possibility of doubt the death of Tippoo, the bodies were ordered to be dragged out, and the *killedar* and the other two persons with him were desired to examine them one after another. This, however, appeared endless; and as it was now becoming dark, a light was procured, and Major Allan accompanied the *killedar* into the gateway. During the search they discovered a wounded person laying under the Sultaun's palanquin: this man was afterwards ascertained to be Rajah Cawn, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants. He had attended his master during the whole of the day; and, on being made acquainted with the object of the search, immediately pointed out the spot where the Sultaun had fallen. By a faint, glimmering light, it was difficult for the *killedar* to recognise the features; but the body being brought out, and satisfactorily proved to be that of the Sultaun,

was conveyed in a palanquin to the palace, where it was recognised by the eunuchs and other servants of the family.

When the Sultaun was first brought from under the gateway, his eyes were open, and the body was so warm that for a few moments Colonel Wellesley, who, with his accustomed activity, was then on the spot, was doubtful whether he was not alive; but, on feeling his pulse and heart, that doubt was removed. The countenance was no way distorted, but had an appearance of calm composure. His turban, jacket, and sword-belt, were gone; but the body was recognised by his people; and an officer who was present, with the leave of General Baird, tore off from his right arm the *talisman* which contained, sewed up in pieces of fine flowered silk, an amulet of a brittle metallic substance of the colour of silver, and some manuscripts in magic Arabic, and Persian characters. The body was placed in his palanquin, and conveyed to the court of the palace, showing him, who had left that palace in the morning a mighty prince, now brought back a lump of clay, and his kingdom overthrown!\*

\* Tippoo Sultaun, at the time of his downfall, was about fifty-two years of age. His constitution was much impaired, and he was subject to two disorders, the frequent return of which kept him under a constant course of medicine. In person he was from five feet eight to nine inches high, and rather inclined to fat, although formerly very thin; his face was round, with large full eyes; and there was much animation and fire in his countenance; he wore whiskers, but no beard; was very active, and sometimes took very long walks. He had eleven children; but only two of these were born in marriage, a girl and boy.

His disposition was naturally cruel; his temper was passionate and revengeful; he was prone to be abusive, but his words were often false and hypocritical, as best suited his purposes. He professed himself to be a *Naib*, or forerunner to one of the Twelve Prophets whom the Mahometans believe are yet to come; and under this pretence he persecuted all other casts, foreign numbers to become Mussulmen. In the war of 1790, in particular, when he had ravaged the country of the *Nairs* on the Malabar coast, it was computed that upwards of twenty thousand persons had suffered under his persecutions in the short space of about four months. The men who refused to submit to circumcision were hanged on the trees surrounding the villages; and the women of the cast, the noblest in India, on refusing to adopt the Mahometan custom of covering their bosoms, which they consider as a mark of degradation and

Every delicacy was shown to the remains of the unfortunate chief; and the preparations for his funeral were superintended by the principal *Cansee* of Seringapatam, every article which he thought proper to order being provided, in order that the ce-

slavery, had their breasts cut off, and suffered many other insults and indignities. Shortly after this, he had nearly lost his life in an attack on the lines of Travancore, where he was forced to leave his palanquin behind him, together with his pistols, and a small signet or seal ring which he usually wore, and which the editor of these sheets has seen, and so very small that the finger on which it was worn must have been delicate in the extreme. His wealth, after the conclusion of the first war with England, was very great. In an inventory which he caused to be taken of it, there were enumerated 700 elephants, 6,000 camels, 11,000 horses, 400,000 bullocks and cows, 100,000 buffaloes, 600,000 sheep, 300,000 firelocks, 300,000 matchlocks, 200,000 swords and crosses, or daggers, and 2,000 guns of different calibres in Seringapatam and his other fortresses: and his total revenue amounted to five crores and ninety-two lacks of pagodas, worth three rupees each.

His policy, however, arising from his prejudices, was inimical to his interest; for the revenues diminished greatly after his father's death, partly from his removing all the Brachmans and others of the Hindoo cast, who were well versed in country business, from the offices of collection, and partly from his forbidding the sale of arrack and gunja throughout his dominions, which had formerly produced a very considerable revenue.

Upon the whole, though this man was certainly a very extraordinary character, yet his abilities have been undoubtedly overrated: and it is now considered that he was neither so good a statesman, nor so able a general, as has often been represented. Selfish, cunning, and rapacious, he acted upon narrow principles, both in government and war; and was greatly deficient in that comprehension and vigour of mind which are essential ingredients in the composition of all true greatness; though it must be confessed that he possessed a considerable share of prudence, and was not wanting either in promptitude or judgment.

The consequence of all this was, that his revenue regulations, though framed with great ability, and apparently well calculated to enrich both the prince and people, were frustrated in their operations by his shifting and narrow policy; and the same contrast ran through all his conduct and all his character, both political and military.

His revengeful disposition may be easily conceived from the following curious extract from one of his own MSS.

"The means I have taken to keep in remembrance the misfortunes I experienced six years ago (alluding to the war with Lord Cornwallis) from the malice of my enemies, are to discontinue sleeping on a cotton bed, and to

emony might be performed with as much pomp as circumstances would admit of. Indeed Colonel Wellesley, who was then appointed commandant, gave directions not only that four flank companies of Europeans should attend, but also that minute guns should be fired during the interval, a mark of respect which the Prince Abdul Khalic at first declined the acceptance of, until he was convinced of its true intent.

On the morning of the 5th of May, Colonel Wellesley relieved General Baird; and on the following day was appointed to the permanent command of Seringapatam, as noticed above, on which occasion he with the greatest promptitude used every means in

make use of a cloth one; when I am victorious, I shall resume the bed of cotton."

His thoughts were constantly bent on war and military preparations. He has been frequently heard to say, that in this world he would rather live two days like a tiger, than two hundred years like a sheep; and, something on this principle, he adopted the figure of the royal tiger as a species of armorial bearing, and as the emblem of his state. His father had chosen the elephant.

The title of "Lion of God" was formerly given by Mahomet to his son-in-law, Ali, to denote the prowess and valour by which he signalized himself in fighting under the prophet's banners. Innumerable, indeed, are the traditions and records of the deeds of this celebrated warrior; and he seems to have been a second Jack the Giant Killer, as many of the romantic tales of the Moor-men have him as their hero. On his example Tippoo was anxious to form himself; and him he adopted as the guardian genius, or tutelary saint, of his dominions. It was natural, therefore, for him to assume his name; and accordingly upon his sabres and other arms he had a cipher cut in Arabic characters, signifying "the Lion of God is the conqueror;" and these letters were so artfully arranged as to bear some resemblance to a tiger's face; and it is perhaps likely that the assumption of the tiger as his own emblem was as much in honour of Ali as boastfully indicative of his own disposition, for the natives of Hindoostan make no distinction between the tiger and the lion.

It was a favourite maxim with him that kings should be inflexible in their orders; that God had forbidden the use of wine; and that he should persist in exacting a strict obedience to his edicts on that subject. Yet, with all this inflexibility, his conversation was remarkably lively, entertaining, and instructive; and, during his meals, he was fond of reciting passages of the most admired historians and poets; and sometimes amused himself with sarcasms upon the infidels, and the enemies of his government.



his power to prevent every kind of excess. Public notice was given that severe examples would be made of any persons detected in the act of plundering the houses, or molesting the inhabitants; four men were in consequence executed for plundering, and the most perfect tranquillity was immediately restored. These examples, and the personal activity of the colonel himself, who went into all the houses of the principal inhabitants to establish safeguards, soon produced a general confidence; the inhabitants, who had fled on the night of the storm, returned to their habitations, and resumed their usual occupations; in a few days the bazars were stored with all kinds of merchandise and provisions, for which there was a ready and advantageous sale; and an eyewitness declares that three days after the storm, the principal streets were so crowded as to be almost impassable, presenting rather the appearance of a fair than of a captured city.

The first important duty which fell upon Colonel Wellesley after the capture, he being one of the commissioners\* appointed for the final regulation and establishment of the new conquest, was the removal of the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan from Seringapatam to the Carnatic. The details of this delicate office, of this painful but indispensable measure, fell to his lot as commandant; and though his conduct and regulations were considered as subject to such suggestions as might be offered by the other members of the commission, yet it has been well said, that to his prudential precautions, which the occasion re-

\* In detailing the steps necessary for this delicate business, the governor general in his instructions observed, that it could not be intrusted to any person more likely to combine every office of humanity, with the prudential precautions required, than Colonel Wellesley; and he therefore committed to his discretion, activity, and humanity, the whole arrangement; but subject always to such suggestions as might be offered by the other commissioners. He added that Colonel Wellesley, in his name, would give the most unequivocal assurances of protection and indulgence to every part of the family; and that he was persuaded that the humanity of General Harris would induce him to exert every effort to mitigate all the rigorous parts of this necessary and most expedient revolution, so loudly called for by a due regard to British interests and the welfare of the natives themselves.

quired to prevent the possibility of commotion or escape, to his discretion, activity, and humanity, throughout the whole of this arduous and difficult task, is justly ascribed the facility with which it was accomplished.

Information having been given that a quantity of jewels were concealed in the seraglio, application was made to Colonel Wellesley, the commandant, for permission to search, which he readily granted ; and the proper notice being given to remove the women from the apartments which it was intended to examine, the gentlemen deputed for that service proceeded to the task. They were disappointed, however, in their object, for they did not find any thing of value ; and it was ascertained afterwards, that Tippoo never intrusted his women with the care of his jewels, or even of their own.

On this examination it appeared that there were in all, including some of the wives and other ladies of the late Hyder's family, six hundred and fifty females in the seraglio and palace ; a number almost equalling those of Solomon himself.

This business at first made some noise ; and the governor general, in a subsequent despatch, observed, that he had heard, with the utmost degree of surprise and concern, that the *zenana*, or women's apartment, in the palace of the Sultaun, was searched ; and added that he could have wished, for the honour of the British name, that the apartments of the women had not been disturbed. He acknowledged that in the heat and confusion of an assault, such excesses are no doubt frequently unavoidable ; but that he should ever lament that this scene should have been acted long after the contest had subsided, and when the whole place had submitted to the superiority of our victorious arms. He then observed that if any personal ornaments, or other articles of value, were taken from the women in that unfortunate moment, he trusted that the commander in chief would make it his business to vindicate the humanity of the British character, by using the most zealous exertions to obtain a full restitution of the property in question. After this observation, he hinted that he thought it superfluous to add his most anxious expectation that

the utmost degree of care would be taken to secure the personal property of the princes, and of the women, when the period of their removal should arrive.

To this remonstrance the commissioners subsequently replied, assuring him that before the zenana was searched for treasure, separate apartments were prepared for the ladies, and no precaution omitted to secure them from the possibility of being exposed to any inconvenience.

Upwards of ten lacks of rupees worth of jewels, and the amount of 500 camel loads of muslins, shawls, rich cloths, and various kinds of merchandise, were found as prize to the captors.

The Sultaun's throne, being too unwieldy to be carried away, was broken up; it was a *howdar* or armed seat, upon a tiger, covered with sheet gold; the ascent to it was by silver steps, gilt, having silver nails, and all the other fastenings of the same metal. The canopy was alike superb, and decorated with a costly fringe of fine pearls all around it. The eyes and teeth of the tiger were of glass. It was valued at 60,000 pagodas, upwards of 25,000*l.* sterling. The sheet gold alone was estimated at 40,000 pagodas. Every inch of the howdar contained an Arabic sentence, chiefly from the Koran, superbly stamped, being raised and polished in the most beautiful manner.

A gold figure of a bird, covered over with the most precious stones, was fastened to the top of the canopy; its beak was a large emerald; its eyes carbuncles; the breast was covered with diamonds; and the wings, which were expanded as if in the act of hovering, were completely lined with diamonds; on the back were many large jewels, well and fancifully disposed; the tail, which resembled a peacock's, was also studded in the same manner; and the whole so arranged as to imitate the plumage, yet so closely set that the gold was scarcely visible.

A number of tigers were found in the palace yard; but these were all ordered to be shot to prevent accidents.

Greater part of this treasure had been the plunder of the unhappy Mysore family, and of many other inferior rajahs. There was every thing, in short, which money or force could procure.

Amidst all the apparent immensity of confusion, every thing was regularly labelled and arranged; and Tippoo himself, whose desire of hoarding was insatiable, always passed the greatest part of his leisure time in reviewing this varied and splendid assemblage of his riches.

It is a remarkable fact, that the public despatches to or from the different presidencies and officers with Lord Cornwallis, and such other public or private letters as were intercepted by Tippoo during the preceding war, were all found in the palace. They were carefully packed up; and, what is more remarkable, not more than three or four of the letters had ever been opened, the seals of all the others being entire.

During the subsequent search Tippoo's only brother, Kerim Saheb, was found in a dungeon with heavy irons on his hands and feet; he had languished in that horrid condition for many years, from an unfounded fit of jealousy that the tyrant had conceived against him.

The primary objects of the commander in chief's attention, after the fall of this fortress, were to disband the late Sultaun's army, and to obtain possession of the principal strong holds throughout his dominions.

The measures necessary for effecting the first of these objects were accordingly taken, through the agency of Purneah. The Sillahdar horse, of their own accord, returned to their lands; the corps, formerly Lally's, surrendered; and the Europeans composing it, together with those under M. Chapuy, recently arrived from the Mauritius, were secured, and immediately sent as prisoners of war into the Carnatic.

The army of Bombay, which had joined the main army during the siege, were detached to take possession of the Canara country; and circular letters were sent to all the killedars, or commanders of the various fortresses, requiring the surrender of their posts to the British arms, and giving them general assurances of favour and protection, all which were attended to, and every thing soon arranged in the most amicable manner.

The villagers immediately returned to their occupations

throughout the whole country; and in a very short time the strongest symptoms appeared of a general disposition to submit to the orders of the British government, without opposition or reluctance.

On a further investigation of the palace, all the records of Tippoo's government were fortunately secured, and were found to contain the whole of his correspondence with the French.

In one of these he told them that he acknowledged the *sublimity* of their constitution; and, as a proof of his sincerity, he proposed to their nation a treaty of alliance and *fraternity*, forever indissoluble; and to be founded on *republican* principles of sincerity and good faith; and he concluded by exclaiming—"Happy moment! the time is come when I can deposite in the bosoms of my friends the hatred which I bear against those oppressors of the human race. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India! you have the power and the means of effecting it, by your free negroes. With these new citizens, (much dreaded by the English,) joined to your troops of the line, we will purge India of those villains! The springs which I have touched have put all India in motion; my friends are ready to fall upon the English," &c.

The British government had now a very difficult part to perform; for the necessity now occurred of determining in what hands the new government of the Mysore should be placed. It seemed expedient, indeed, that a choice should instantly be made between the pretensions of the family of Tippoo Sultaun, and those of the ancient house of the Rajahs of Mysore, neither of whom, however, were considered as having any absolute right or title to the throne.

As the Earl of Mornington feelingly expressed himself, in one of his public despatches, the claims of humanity, on both sides, rendered the decision a painful and ungracious task. No alternative remained in fact, but to depose that dynasty which was found upon the throne, or to confirm the Mahometan usurpation, and with it the perpetual exclusion and degradation of the legitimate Hindoo sovereigns of those countries.

The governor concluded that all motives of policy favoured the restoration of this ancient family, and he was induced to adopt the resolution of preferring the descendant of the Rajahs of Mysore to the heir of Tippoo Sultaun.

The governor general, therefore, issued a commission appointing Colonel Wellesley, along with General Harris, the honourable Henry Wellesley, and Lieutenant Colonels Kirkpatrick and Close, as commissioners for the affairs of the Mysore; and the first step undertaken by them was to make provision for the surviving officers and chiefs of the late Sultaun, and for the families of those slain during the campaign.

The next important duty of Colonel Wellesley, as a commissioner, was to undertake the painful but necessary task of removing the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun from Seringapatam to the Carnatic, for which purpose the fortress of Vellore was prepared for their reception, with payment of stipends allotted to both families, and every accommodation suitable to their former rank and expectations.

Colonel Wellesley, and the other commissioners, with a degree of consideration highly praiseworthy, had, previously to the departure of the princes from Seringapatam, cautiously abstained from all intercourse with the family of the Rajah of Mysore; but the moment the four eldest sons of Tippoo had left that capital, Colonel Wellesley paid a visit to the young Rajah, whom he found, along with others of his persecuted family, in a condition of poverty and humiliation which excited the strongest emotions of compassion. The particulars of this interesting visit were fully detailed by the commissioners, in a despatch to the governor general, in which they state, that having signified through *Purneah*, a confidential friend of the family, the general outlines of the plan intended for their restoration to their original rank, a written answer was sent by the grandmother and aunt of the Rajah, then only a child of five years old, in which they expressed the greatest happiness at the pleasing prospects before them. They added, "Forty years have elapsed since our government ceased. Now you have favoured our boy with the go-

verment of this country, and nominated Purneah to be his *dewan*, (or minister,) we shall, while the sun and moon continue, commit no offence to your government. We shall at all times consider ourselves as under your protection and orders; your having established us must ever be fresh in the memory of our posterity from one generation to another. Our offspring can never forget an attachment to your government, on whose support we shall depend."

Colonel Wellesley, and three of the other commissioners, immediately signified their intention of paying their personal respects to the family in the evening, and proceeded to their residence accompanied by Purneah; but although every preparation was made for their reception, yet the misery in which they found them was almost indescribable. A portion of the apartment in which they were received was concealed by a curtain, behind which the *Rana*, or queen mother, and the other relatives were seated. The male part of the family received them with expressions of gratitude and joy proportioned to the magnitude of the benefits conferred on them, and to the state of obscurity and indigence from which they were now to be relieved, and in which they had been kept by Hyder and his son ever since the first usurpation.

On communicating, through Purneah, the general outline of the plan in their behalf, the *Rana*, in a most eloquent and energetic reply, expressed the lively sense which she entertained of British generosity, which had thus raised her and her family from the lowest state of human misery to that station of which they had been deprived by tyranny and usurpation. She dwelt particularly on the persecution to which she and her family had been exposed from the cruel, savage, and relentless disposition of the late Tippoo Sultaun: but, she added, that the generosity of the India Company having restored the ancient rights of her house, in the person of her grandson, had opened to her a prospect of passing the remainder of her days in peace.

This venerable lady was the second wife of the Rajah who reigned at the time of Hyder's usurpation: her name *Letchima*

*Amany*, the second wife of *Kisna Raige Worrier*; the maternal aunt of the young chief was *Dewaj Amany*, the second wife of *Chiaum Ra'ge*, his father, who had married eight wives, the young Rajah's mother and this lady being sisters.

The Rajah himself was a boy of five years old, of a delicate habit, his complexion rather fair than otherwise, and his countenance very expressive. He betrayed some symptoms of alarm on the first arrival of Colonel Wellesley and his friends, but these soon disappeared; though he showed himself upon the whole rather of a timid disposition, from having suffered considerably from restraint. He soon, however, began to feel the importance of his situation, and to confirm the good opinion formed of him at first; and, during the subsequent ceremony of his inauguration, his conduct was so remarkably decorous as scarcely to have been expected.

It was then determined on, instead of bringing them to Seringapatam, that the ancient town of Mysore, as the most eligible situation for the seat of government, should be appointed for their residence: and on the 30th of June Colonel Wellesley, assisted by his brother commissioners, had the gratification of formally placing the young Rajah upon the throne of his ancestors.

In this ceremony every attention was paid to the prejudices of the native inhabitants; and the Brachmans having fixed on the month as the most auspicious moment for placing Kistna Rajah Oodiaver in his new sovereignty, the Rajah and his family were removed from Seringapatam to Mysore, where the best preparations were made for their accommodation that circumstances would admit of, whilst General Harris, attended by his suite, and an escort of European cavalry, arrived there in order to preside on the occasion.

On the auspicious morning, Colonel Wellesley and the other members of the commission, accompanied by Meer Allum Bahauder, the Nizam's general, and his son Meer Dowran, and preceded by the 12th regiment of foot, proceeded to the Rajah's residence, where the ceremony of inauguration took place before a great crowd of spectators, so happy at the circumstance, that,



as the commissioners declared, it would have been difficult to describe the joy which was visible in their countenances.

That part of the ceremony which consisted of placing the Rajah on the Musnud was performed by General Harris, as senior commissioner, and by Meer Allum, each of whom took a hand of the youthful prince, to whom, soon after, General Harris presented the seal and signet; the whole taking place under three volleys of musketry from the troops on the spot, and a royal salute from the guns of Seringapatam.

After this arrangement Colonel Wellesley was confirmed by the governor general in the command of Seringapatam, as a trust of great delicacy and importance, and which, in his public despatches, he said he considered as his duty to repose in a person of approved military talents and integrity.

The whole of these important arrangements, in which Colonel Wellesley took so distinguished and so active a share, being thus happily finished, it is by no means irrelevant, in forming a judgment of his services, to look at the actual state of India in consequence of them.

From the period of the first war with Hyder Ali, the tranquillity of the Company's possessions had been continually menaced by the chiefs of Mysore; and even in the intervals of peace which succeeded the various contests with Hyder and Tippee, the security of all our territory in the Carnatic had been very uncertain: for, notwithstanding these cessations of actual hostilities, still the designs of those princes had been uniformly hostile, and the baneful effects of this perpetual state of uncertainty and solicitude had not only put the Company to an extraordinary expense, but had been felt by the natives themselves, in the decay of agriculture, and of the arts of peaceful industry.

To this it must be added, that the other consequences of this hostile feeling were, a rebellious spirit in certain descriptions of the Company's native subjects, a diminution of British influence and consideration at the native courts, the rising hopes of the turbulent and disaffected, the decline of public and private credit, and the constant necessity of guarding against surprise from the

sudden aggression of an enemy whom no clemency or moderation could conciliate, and no faith could bind.

The fall of Seringapatam, therefore, under all the circumstances which accompanied that event, placed the whole kingdom of Mysore, with all its resources, at the disposal of the Company; and thus, the only power in India to which the French could look for assistance, or which could be deemed formidable to British interests, was now completely destroyed. Other advantages might also be expected to, and did, flow from these events; as they served as a salutary lesson to the various native princes of India, proving to them the danger of violating their public engagements, and of inviting foreign invasion, for the prosecution of schemes of ambition and hatred against the British power.

The balance of power of the whole empire was thus thrown into the hands of Britain, presenting an irresistible force, and enabling her either to concentrate the most efficient part of the resources of the Mysore empire, for the single object of her own defence, against any possible combination, or to throw the same weight into that scale which might appear to require such an aid in order to preserve the general tranquillity, on the solid basis of justice and moderation.

The consequences, in a pecuniary point of view, to the Company, by the final arrangements of territory, were very great. There was an augmentation of direct revenue of upwards of two and a half millions sterling, whilst the subsidiary treaty with the new Rajah gave them as much more; the whole making a neat annual increase of about four millions.

Nor did the country itself suffer; for it is a pleasing reflection, that the inhabitants soon returned to their ancient customs; the deserted villages were soon repeopled; and, under the fostering hands of British protection, the fertile environs of Seringapatam soon began to flourish in a renewed state of peaceful cultivation.

The army being anxious to offer the Earl of Mornington, as they expressed themselves, some mark of its high esteem for the wisdom which had prepared and directed the whole operations,

caused a star and badge, of the order of St. Patrick, to be prepared, in which as many of the jewels as could be found suitable were taken from the treasury of Tippoo. These were enclosed in a golden box and sent to General Harris, with a request that he would transmit them to the governor general.

His lordship's answer on this occasion was highly honourable to his feelings; and he expressed himself sincerely desirous of accepting the gift of the army, and of wearing it as an emblem of *their* glory, and of their good will; he also expressed himself satisfied that it never was in the contemplation of the legislature of Great Britain to prohibit the acceptance of such honorary marks of distinction; but as a careful examination of the whole business had convinced him that he could not accept of it without violating the *letter* of existing statutes, and creating a precedent which might hereafter become the source of injury to the public service, he, therefore, was under the necessity of declining this flattering mark of their approbation.

This self denial of the noble governor general was duly appreciated at home; and he not only shared fully in the thanks of the nation, expressed through both houses of parliament, to all those connected with the brilliant conduct and issue of the war, but also received a signal mark of his sovereign's favour and approval by an elevation to a marquisate and a British barony.

The tranquillity of India, dependent upon those transactions, permitted Colonel Wellesley, for a short time, to enjoy his well earned fame\* amidst the blandishments of peace; but we shall now see him engaging in a more arduous warfare as a commanding officer, and with all the responsibility attached to that character.

In the year 1800, the tranquillity of the Mysore country be-

\* In the general orders of the 5th of May, he was particularly noticed. "On referring to the progress of the siege, so many occasions have occurred for applause to the troops, that it is difficult to particularize individual merit; but the gallant manner in which the honourable Colonel Wellesley (with others) conducted the attacks on the several outworks and posts of the enemy deserves to be particularly recorded."

came much disturbed by a freebooter of the name of *Dhoondiah Waugh*, whose force soon increased to such an alarming extent as to threaten the security of the Company's possessions, and also the territories of their allies, on the western borders of the peninsula. It was necessary, therefore, to send a force for the suppression of this predatory system; and the governor general attached such a degree of political importance to the whole transaction, and reposed such implicit confidence in the talents of his brother, as to give the command of the expedition to Colonel Wellesley, from whose exertions, both political and military he expected the most solid and extensive advantages would accrue.

Colonel Wellesley, therefore, having assembled a sufficient British and native force, proceeded on his mission; and crossing the Malpurba at Jellahaul, on the 3d of September, entered the territories of the Nizam at Hanamsagur on the 5th. Colonel Stevenson, who had a force under his command to coöperate in this service, being obliged to cross the river in boats, was not able to advance until the day preceding; and as it appeared probable that when Dhoondiah should be pressed by the whole of the force on the northern side of the Duab, he would return into Savanore by Kannagherry and Bopul, and would thus impede the communication; or, if favoured by the Patans of Cannoul, and the Polygars on the right bank of the Tumbundra, he would pass that river, and would enter the territories of Mysore, Colonel Wellesley determined to lead his detachment to the southward, and to prevent the execution of either of these designs, if he had them. He also resolved, afterwards, to push him to the eastward, and to take such advantage of his movements as might turn up, while Colonel Stevenson should move by Moodgul and Nohsry, at the distance of between twelve and twenty miles from the Kistna, and the Mohratta and Mogul cavalry then collected in one body between the British force and the corps of the freebooters.

In pursuance of this plan he arrived with his little army at Kannagherry on the 7th, and on the 8th moved with the cavalry to Baswapoor, arriving on the following day at Yepalperwy; the

infantry being at Howley and Shinnoor, about fifteen miles in the rear. On the 9th, in the morning, Dhoondiah moved from Malgherry, a place about twenty-five miles from Rachoor, at which he had been encamped for some days, towards the Kistna; but on his road having seen Colonel Stevenson's camp, he returned and encamped about nine miles in front of Colonel Wellesley's force; it was clear, however, that he did not know of the near approach of the British, believing them still to be at Shinnoor.

On the 10th, in the morning, the colonel moved forward with his force, and met Dhoondiah's army at a place called Conaghull, about six miles from Yepalperwy, being then on their march to the westward, apparently with the design of passing between the British and native detachments. At this period Dhoondiah's army consisted of 5,000 cavalry, which Colonel Wellesley immediately attacked with his little force, consisting only of the 19th and 25th dragoons, and 1st and 2d regiments of native cavalry.

Dhoondiah was strongly posted, with his rear and left flank covered by the village and rock of Conaghull, and he stood the attack for some time with apparent firmness; but such was the rapidity and determination of the charge, made by the four regiments, which their gallant and judicious commander was obliged to form in one line, in order to bear some proportion in length to that which they had to attack, that the whole of the enemy's line gave way, and were pursued for many miles with great slaughter. In the retreat many, among whom was Dhoondiah himself, fell: and the whole of the remainder were dispersed and scattered in small parties over the face of the country. Part of the enemy's baggage was still remaining in his camp, about three miles from Conaghull. The colonel returned thither, and got possession of all the elephants, camels, and every thing they had.

This total defeat and dispersion of the rebels, and, above all, the death of Dhoondiah, put a complete end to the warfare, and freed the government from all fears for the tranquillity of the

country ; and the whole business was most handsomely completed by Colonel Stevenson, who at Deodroog, on the very day of the action, came up with and took the only two remaining guns the enemy possessed, together with a quantity of baggage, all the remaining camels, bullocks, &c. throwing the whole body into confusion, taking many prisoners, and dispersing the rest.

In all the details of the action Colonel Wellesley gave the greatest credit to Colonel Stevenson, to the movements of whose detachment he considered himself as indebted for the opportunity of destroying one who might have become a formidable opponent of the British government.

## SECTION III.

Colonel Wellesley destined for new services, but resumes his command in the Mysore—Preliminary observations—Gradations of military rank—Rise of the Mahratta state—Anecdotes of Scindiah—Scindiah's politics—Attacks on the power of the Peishwah—Liberal policy of the Marquis of Wellesley—Subsidiary treaties with the country powers—Balance of power in Hindostan—French intrigues—French cruelty towards the Great Mogul—Preparations for war—Army assembled under Lieutenant General Stewart—Lord Clive gives the command of a detached force to Major General Wellesley—March of General Wellesley's force towards Poonah—Arrival at Poonah—Grateful reception by the natives—Reinstatement of the Peishwah—Political and diplomatic power granted to General Wellesley—Force of Scindiah and the confederates—Evasive conduct of the Mahratta chiefs—March towards Ahundnegou—Attack of that fortress—Storming of the Pettah—Surrender of the fort—Anecdotes of the attack—March of the army in pursuit of the confederates—Capture of Jalnapoor—Military operations and advance to Maulniah—March towards *Assye*—*Battle of Assye*—Military anecdotes of the battle—Total defeat of the enemy—Insidious proposals of the enemy—Battle of Allyghur—Capture of that fortress—Battle of Laswarrah—Restoration of the great Mogul—Anecdotes of General Lake—Observations political and military—Military monument at Calcutta—Further operations—Capture of Asseir Ghur—Gallant battle of *Argaum*—Siege and storm of Gawilghur—Military delineations—General Wellesley concludes treaties with the confederate Rajahs—General view of the successes of the war—Military and civil compliments to Major General Wellesley—War with Holkar—Capture of Chandore—Gratitude of the natives to the major general—Elected knight of the bath—Return to England, &c. &c. &c.

TRANQUILLITY being restored in India, by the transactions with Dhoondiah, and his final overthrow, the great and comprehensive mind of the governor general meditated an expedition to Batavia, to be commanded by General Baird. In the event of the success of this enterprise, a part of the force was to have been detached for the purpose of attacking the Mauritius and the Isle of Bourbon. Colonel Wellesley was destined to this important duty. Accordingly, in the month of December, 1800, he was recalled from his command in the Mysore, and quitted his government of Seringapatam, followed by the good

wishes and prayers of the native inhabitants, and the sincerest testimonies of friendship and respect from the troops under his command; and was succeeded by Colonel Stevenson.

From some strange misconception of the powers of the governor general, the necessary coöperation of Admiral Rainier, then commanding in the Indian seas, could not be obtained for this great and desirable object; and it accordingly fell to the ground, certainly very much to the detriment and injury of the British interests in India; but part of the troops, to the amount of 5,000 men, proceeded to Egypt under General Baird, to act with the army there.

This circumstance enabled the governor general to avail himself once more of the services of Colonel Wellesley in the Mysore; and he was accordingly remanded to the command of the forces in that country, and to his government of Seringapatam.

It appears that it had been intended that Colonel Wellesley should have had a command in the expedition to Egypt; and he was actually gazetted as brigadier general in that country on the 25th of July, 1801; but circumstances, unnecessary to be mentioned here, had changed his destination.\*

In every situation in which we have hitherto seen Colonel Wellesley engaged, we have always seen him equal to its duties; but a new scene was now opening, in which he had to attempt the two arduous characters of diplomatist and commander in chief, having attained the rank of major general, on the 29th of April, 1802.†

\* It is a curious fact that a letter from Lord Elgin arrived in this country dated the 5th of June, 1801, in which he says that Lord Keith had received a despatch from Admiral Blanket of the 6th of May in that year, stating the arrival of General Baird and *Colonel Wellesley* with the Indian army.

† The military career of the Marquis of Wellington, up to his rank as major general, is as follows:

Ensign in the 41st regiment, 25th December, 1787.

Lieutenant - - - - - 2<sup>d</sup> January, 1788.

Lieutenant - 12th light dragoons, 25th June, 1789.



The predatory states, composing the Mahratta power, have never been united under any regular form of confederation. Still, however, a certain degree of union has taken place from the period of their first success, and throughout the whole decline of the empire of the Mogul, producing a vague and indefinite sentiment of common interest, founded principally upon their common origin, and their religious and civil customs. Ever since the destruction of the Mogul power, the same species of indefinite, yet acknowledged, confederacy has continued; and by its influence and coöperation, has enabled many of the adventurous chiefs to establish states possessed of much political power, and supported by a considerable share of military resource.

This confederated power has long been under the guidance of a supreme chief, called the Peishwah.

At this period Dowlut Rao Scindiah,\* a powerful chieftain,

Captain - - 58th, (or Rutlandshire regiment,) 30th June, 1791.

Captain - - 18th light dragoons, 31st October, 1792.

Major - - 33d regiment, 30th April, 1793.

Lieutenant Colonel in the 33d (or West Riding) regiment, 30th September, 1793.

Colonel in the army, 3d May, 1796.

Brigadier General in Egypt, 17th July, 1801.

Major General, 29th April, 1802.

\* Scindiah was originally a Rajpoot, born in the village of Chemareonda, near Poonah. His father subsisted for some time by the cultivation of some lands; but, being dissatisfied with the profession of a husbandman, went and entered into the cavalry of Bajee Rao, then a mere trooper, hiring himself and men to those who would pay him best. Bajee finding him wise, intelligent, and discreet, took him from his humble station; and his ingenuity and sagacity soon obtained him the command of a small troop, from which he rose to consequence. When the Mogul empire was torn by intestine commotions, Bajee Rao was detached with a large army into the various districts of Malwah, &c. to dispossess the emperor's officers, and to usurp the government, which he faithfully executed, making the servants of the emperor tributary; and arranging the whole administration for his employer, the Rajah Saho. On this occasion, Ranojee (Scindiah's father) having performed several very gallant exploits, he was exalted to a high command, and rewarded with large grants of land. Dying soon after, he left two legitimate sons, and two illegitimate, the youngest of whom was Mha Rajah Scindiah, who, on the death of

had impaired the authority of the Peishwah to such an extent, as to have completely frustrated every benefit which Lord Cornwallis intended to secure to the British interests by the alliance with that supreme officer: for he absolutely usurped the government of Poonah, and had established himself in the vicinity of that city with a powerful army, the regular infantry and artillery of which had been disciplined, and were then principally commanded, by French officers.

This influence of Scindiah had been felt by the Marquis of Wellesley, even as far back as 1798, when he wished to prevail on the Mahratta powers to fulfil the conditions of the subsisting alliance against Mysore, in spite of the then otherwise friendly intentions of the Peishwah himself, and several of the other chiefs. In fact, the hostile chiefs had actually maintained a secret and treacherous correspondence with Tippoo until his fall; and even after that period by means of emissaries, (under the direction and control of Scindiah, who was then absolutely paramount in the durbar at Poonah,) had attempted to excite the dethroned family, and the remaining pensioned officers of the late Sultaun, to commence hostilities against the English, and foment a rebellion in the Mysore. Still the governor general, by a safe and liberal policy, (and who had already offered a part of Tippoo's states to the Mahrattas, though the offer was refused through Scindiah's influence,) attempted, by propositions of the most amicable nature both to Scindiah and the Peishwah, to ward off the expected hostilities on the part of the Mahratta powers; but these offers were again all rejected, through the policy of Scindiah, who, depending upon his military power, and on French assistance, seized the government of Poonah, the capital of the Mahratta empire, and absolutely prohibited the Peishwah from cementing his ties of alliance with the company; and even compelled him to violate his good faith with Britain at the expense of his reputation, and to the certain subversion of his own power as a sovereign prince.

his three brothers during various disturbances, inherited the paternal estates; and aimed at sovereignty in the dominions of the Mogul, his master.

At this period the destruction of the hostile force of Mysore, accompanied by the consolidation of our alliances with the Nizam, had left us without a single rival in India, the Mahratta powers excepted; nor could even they become formidable under any circumstances, except their union under an enterprising chief. Such a crisis, however, had now approached; and it was obviously required, by common prudence, to check its influence and consequent baneful effects as soon as possible.

The governor general, therefore, having in 1800 formed a subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, at the court of Hyderabad, it was attempted to extend it to the Mahratta chiefs; and, in 1802, was actually put in force with the *Gwicknar*; its operation attaching that state to the British interest, and securing to the Company a valuable and important territorial establishment in the populous and maritime province of Guzarat.

Even this partial arrangement appeared to afford some security for preserving a due balance between the several states, forming the Mahratta confederacy, and also to tend in some measure to the prevention of any dangerous union among them; but the then disturbed state of the Mahratta empire had offered a strong temptation to France to attempt the favourite object of establishing a dominion within the Indian peninsula; and a considerable force for that purpose had been introduced under the command of Monsieur Perron, who, at that period, possessed the sovereign command of some extensive countries, on the left bank of the Indus, with a revenue of near two millions sterling. At this period, indeed, there were still a few British officers in the service of Scindiah; but it was well known that Perron only waited the arrival of some more of his countrymen, in order to dismiss the whole of them. In fact, Perron at that moment held both the person and nominal authority of the unfortunate Shah Aullum, the deposed Mogul emperor, in the most abject and degrading subjection; for the office of Vakeel, or Viceroy, being held by the Peishwah, Scindiah, as his deputy nominally, and real master, administered the affairs of the Mogul empire, whilst the fiction was carried to such a length that Perron called his army the

“ imperial army,” and himself a servant and subject of the Great Mogul.

All the attempts on the part of the governor general to re-establish the independence of the Peishwah were now found impracticable ; yet, notwithstanding this, even as far down as 1802, the marquis determined to renew his negotiations for the conclusion of an improved system of alliance with the court of Poonah, as the increased distractions of that state seemed favourable to British interests, in consequence of the recent successes of Holkar against Scindiah.

Holkar, however, was a mere adventurer, an illegitimate son of a late chief ; and the only boon which could be held out to him was that of a secure and permanent establishment under British protection, instead of his risking his all for the mere chance of acquiring power and plunder at Poonah.

But Scindiah still maintained his power over the Peishwah, and his troops were actually engaged with those of that chief, in opposition to Holkar on the 25th of October, 1802, when Holkar was victorious.

In consequence of this defeat, the Peishwah was anxious to avail himself of British protection, and soon after fled from his dominions, under the patronage of the government of Bombay, being conveyed in an English ship from one of his own ports to the strong fortress of Severn Droog on the coast of Malabar.

It was now determined to resort to warlike measures to restrain the power of the hostile chiefs, and, accordingly, a considerable force was collected from the different presidencies, and assembled at *Hurryhur*, on the northwest frontier of the Mysore, under the command of Lieutenant General Stewart, who was ordered to adopt the necessary measures for the march of the British troops into the Mahratta territory, and to detach such a force as he thought sufficient for that purpose.

The high opinion formed of Major General Wellesley by his brother now displayed itself ; for we are told in the memoir drawn up by the marquis himself, that this command of the advanced detachment necessarily required the united exertion of

considerable military talent, and of great political experience and discretion. Indeed, this high opinion was not confined to the marquis; for Lord Clive also (then governor of the Madras presidency, and within whose limits of government the army was formed) was convinced that the trust could not be confided, with equal prospects of advantage, to any other person than the subject of our biography, whose extensive local knowledge, and personal influence among the Mahratta chieftains, (acquired by his conduct in the command of the Mysore, and by his subsequent victories over Dhoondiah and the other refractory chiefs,) appeared best calculated to ensure success to the future important operations.

Lord Clive, therefore, gave instructions to Lieutenant General Stewart to that purpose; and the general having directed a detachment from the main army to be assembled ready for action, consisting of one regiment of European, and three regiments of native cavalry, two regiments of European and six battalions of native infantry, with a due proportion of artillery, amounting altogether to about 9,707 men, together with 2,500 of the Rajah of Mysore's cavalry, the command was given to the honourable Major General Wellesley, for the purpose of advancing into the Mahratta territory.

The major general advanced from Hurryhur on the 3d of March, 1803, and arrived at Tumbundra river on the 12th, which he then crossed; his march through the whole of the Mahratta territory being most successful; for the British troops were everywhere received as friends, and almost all the chiefs in the vicinity of the route of the detachment joined with their forces, and accompanied the British army to Poonah.

This long march, at a season of the year very unfavourable, and performed without loss or distress, must be considered as highly honourable to the commanding officer, though certainly much aided by the amiable conduct of the Jagheerdars and of the inhabitants, which must, however, be considered as principally attributable to the fame which the British army had acquired in the campaign under his command against Dhoondiah Waugh.

The principal causes of success, indeed, were the ability, temper, activity, and skill of the general, which were most eminently displayed in directing the system of the supply and movements of the troops, in his prevention of plunder and of all excesses, and in his conciliating the inhabitants of the various districts through which his route was pursued.

On the 15th of April, Holkar, now the principal chief of the rebellious party, had reached Chandore, (about one hundred and thirty miles N. N. E. from Poonah,) whilst Amrut Rao alone remained in that city with a force of about 1,500 men. At the same time, a subsidiary force under Colonel Stevenson, sent by the Nizam, had arrived at Akloos, a town only eight miles from the Neera river, and but a short distance from the army of General Wellesley, who immediately reinforced the colonel with the Scotch brigade.

As Holkar's position was now taken up during a retreat from Poonah, it appeared unnecessary to the general to advance all his troops to that city for the purpose of effecting the restoration of the Peishwah; and as the country was already much exhausted, and there prevailed a great deficiency of forage, he determined to dispose of a great portion of his army in such cantonments that the whole might procure forage and subsistence, and at the same time be ready to form a junction with facility, whenever that might be necessary. In pursuance of this plan, he directed Colonel Stevenson to break up from his position, and proceed to Gardoon, where the Nizam's troops were to be quartered, and then to place himself with the British subsidiary troops in a position towards Poonah, and on the Beemah river, near its junction with the Mota mola.

Previous to this, the major general had received information from Colonel Close, the British resident at Poonah, that it was the intention of Amrut Rao to plunder and burn that city as soon as the British troops should appear; and the Peishwah also, then at Basseen, sent an urgent request that he would despatch part of the Peishwah's army towards that place in order to provide for

the safety of some part of his highness's family still resident there.

As soon, therefore, as he had completed his arrangements, he continued his march to Poonah, by the road of Baramooty, determined, as soon as his army should arrive within the distance of a forced march, to advance himself with the British cavalry and the Mahratta troops belonging to the Peishwah, well knowing that the latter were not of themselves sufficient to frustrate the designs of Amrut Rao.

Having soon after received intelligence that on the 18th of April Amrut Rao was still in the vicinity of Poonah, and that he had removed the Peishwah's family to the fortress of Saoghur, a measure generally considered as preparatory to the destruction of the city, he marched, on the 19th of April at night, over a most rugged country, and through a very difficult pass called the little Bhoorghaut, about forty miles from Poonah, and arrived there on the 20th, at the head of his cavalry, having marched a total distance of about sixty miles in thirty-two hours.

Alarmed by the rapidity of the march of the British troops, Amrut Rao, as soon as he heard of their approach, on the morning of the 20th, retired with precipitation, not having time to put his plans in execution for the destruction of the place; whilst Major General Wellesley, and his gallant few, were welcomed by the small number of remaining inhabitants as their deliverers.

Arrangements having now been made at Bombay for sending an escort of about 2,000 men under Colonel Murray to protect the Peishwah in his journey towards his capital, his highness passed General Wellesley's camp on the 6th of May; and on the 13th, attended by his brother and a numerous train of the principal chiefs of the empire, he proceeded to the city, when, having entered his palace, he resumed his seat upon the musnud, or throne, with the usual ceremonies. During this procession, in order to heighten the effect, a salute was fired by the British troops, which was answered from the fortress of

Saoghur, and which ceremony was followed by the same from the surrounding hill forts, &c.

Scindiah was now again in arms, with the professed intention of opposing Holkar; but the governor general was doubtful of his purposes, having reason to believe that a confederacy actually existed between those chiefs, in union with the Rajah of Berar. The circumstances which took place in the ensuing months confirmed this opinion; and, accordingly, in this very delicate crisis of affairs, it appeared absolutely necessary, on the part of the marquis, to unite the control of all political affairs in the Dekan, connected with the negotiations then going on, and with the movements of the army, under a distinct local authority, subject, indeed, to the governor general in council, but possessing full powers to conclude upon the spot whatever arrangements might become necessary, either for the final settlement of peace, or for the active prosecution of the war. It was obvious, then, that these powers ought to be held by the commanding officer of the troops; and accordingly the marquis, as he himself states, determined, on the 26th of June, to vest them in Major General Wellesley, whose already established influence amongst the Mahratta chiefs, and intimate knowledge of his sentiments concerning the British interest in the Mahratta empire, were particularly calculated to enable that officer to execute the arduous trust reposed in him, with the greatest benefit to the public welfare.

The major general immediately commenced his political operations, and on the 18th of July addressed a letter to the British resident, directing him to state to both Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, the anxiety with which the British government desired the preservation of peace; and also to observe, that the only proof which could be accepted of the sincerity of their amicable professions was the immediate disbanding of their armies, and their return from the Nizam's frontier to their own capitals; and the resident had further orders to say that if these terms were not complied with, he had orders to quit Scindiah's camp without delay.

Several evasive attempts were made by the two chieftains to



avoid a settlement, and it was evident that the defence and security of our own rights, and those of our allies, could only be maintained by an instant recourse to arms against the united forces of those two Rajahs. The season too was so far advanced as to press for decision, particularly as the actual prevalence of the rainy monsoon, in those provinces which must become the theatre of war, was considered as more favourable to our operations than to those of the natives, who are unwilling to engage in hostilities at that period.\*

It is not necessary to detail the various coöperations intended by the troops under General Lake, though they will be noticed

\* By the most accurate accounts received on the subject of the force of the enemy, it appears that towards the close of the month of July, the troops opposed to Major General Wellesley, under the immediate command of Scindiah and of the Rajah of Berar, in the field, amounted to about 33,500 cavalry, 0,500 regular infantry, 500 matchlock men, 500 rocket men, and 100 pieces of ordnance. Two brigades under Monsieur Dudermaigue and Major Brownrigg, amounting to twelve battalions, with a large train of artillery, had been ordered to Hindostan, and Major Polhman's brigade had been directed to return to Boorhanpore, leaving with Scindiah only eight battalions consisting of about 4,500 men; the Rajah of Berar's infantry amounted to 3,000 men. These forces were posted at Julgong, a place at the foot of the Adjunttee Ghaut, in the Dekan; and, in addition to the troops already stated, Scindiah had an advanced party of a few thousand horse dispersed through the Adjunttee hills. The force under the immediate command of Monsieur Perron, Scindiah's general in the northern provinces of Hindostan, amounted to about sixteen or seventeen thousand regular and disciplined infantry, and a well proportioned and numerous train of artillery; together with a body of irregular troops, and from fifteen to twenty thousand horse. The head-quarters of Perron's force were established near Coull, in a commanding situation on the frontier of the British possessions, and on the most vulnerable part of our extensive oriental empire.

The local situation of Scindiah's territories, and the nature of his military force in Hindostan also, constituted at all times a serious danger to British interest; for part of those territories were situated between the Jumna and the Ganges, thus interrupting our line of defence in that quarter, whilst some of his principal posts were introduced into the centre of our dominions, which, with the possession of Agra, Delhi, and of the right bank of the Jumna, enabled him to command nearly the whole line of our northwestern frontier.

*Vide Wellesley's History of the War.*

in the progress of the narrative; it is therefore a point most connected with our main subject to state that Major General Wellesley, having received information on the 6th of August of the failure of the British resident's negotiation, was determined to commence hostilities without delay, but was prevented from moving by a very heavy rain, which had lasted three days, and had rendered the road from Walkee to Ahmednaghur totally impassable. On the 7th it cleared up so much as to permit him to commence his march the next day, on which morning he had despatched a messenger to the Killedar of Ahmednagur, requiring him to surrender his fort.

On his arrival in the vicinity of the *Pettah*, (or town protected by the fortress,) General Wellesley offered protection to the inhabitants; but it was refused in consequence of the place being in the possession of a body of Arabs, supported by a battalion of Scindiah's native infantry, and a body of horse encamped in an open space between the fort and the *Pettah*. He immediately determined to storm the latter place, and accordingly attacked it with the piquets of the infantry, reinforced by the flank companies of the 78th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Harness; a second attack took place under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Wallace, with the 74th regiment and the 1st battalion of the 8th; whilst Captain Vesey, with the flank companies of the 74th, and the 1st battalion of the 3d, formed a third point of assault.

The wall surrounding the *Pettah* was found to be very lofty, and defended by towers; but then it had no rampart, so that when the troops had ascended to the attack, they had no ground on which they could stand; and the Arabs, who occupied the towers, defended their posts with their accustomed obstinacy. They were, however, at length obliged to quit the wall; but flying to the houses they continued a destructive fire upon the assailants, who were also attacked by Scindiah's regular infantry after they had entered the *Pettah*; notwithstanding this, our troops were in a short time completely masters of the whole place, though with the loss of some brave officers and men. The

loss of the enemy, indeed, was much greater, as may be judged from the nature of the contest; and on that very evening all that part of their force which was not absolutely necessary for the defence of the fort went off to the northward, accompanied by the greatest part of the Arabs.

With his accustomed activity the major general reconnoitred the ground in the vicinity of the fort on the 9th, and on the evening of that day Lieutenant Colonel Wallace, with five companies of the 74th regiment, and the 2d battalion of the 12th, seized a position within four hundred yards of it, on which, in the course of the night, a battery was constructed for four guns, to take off the defences on the side on which the principal attack was proposed. At daylight on the morning of the 10th this battery was opened; and it was so judiciously placed, and was served with such effect, as to induce the killedar to propose a cessation, in order that he might send a person to treat for a capitulation. General Wellesley instantly replied, that he would not cease firing until he should have taken the fort, or until the killedar should surrender: he told him, however, that he was willing to listen to any thing which he might have to communicate. On the morning of the 11th, therefore, the killedar sent out two vakeels, or commissioners, to propose the surrender, on condition that he should be allowed to depart with the garrison, and to have private property secured; to which the general consented to agree; but, well knowing the treachery and evasive principles of these gentry, he never ceased firing until five o'clock that evening, when the hostages arrived in the British camp. On the morning of the 12th of August, 1803, the killedar marched out of the fort, with a garrison consisting of 1,400 men; and the British troops immediately took possession of it.

The loss of the British was comparatively trifling after the 3th, owing most undoubtedly to the spirit with which the attacks on that day were carried on; and their acquisition was an object of great consequence from the advantageous situation of Ahmednaghur, on the frontiers of the Nizam's territory, not only covering Poona, but serving as an important point of support to all

the future operations in the northern district. It was in fact considered as one of the strongest forts in the country; and the general himself said, in his public despatches, that with the exception of Vellore, in the Carnatic, it was the strongest country fort he had seen, and was throughout in excellent repair, except that part exposed to the fire of the British artillery. The whole number of the assailants killed were 18 Europeans and 12 natives; wounded, 61 Europeans, 50 natives. As soon as the place was in our possession, the general proceeded to take charge of all the districts dependent upon it, yielding an estimated annual revenue of 650,000 rupees, which districts were placed under the temporary management and authority of a British officer. Proposing to advance to the Godavery river, the general stationed a garrison in the fort sufficient for its retention; and, having made all other necessary arrangements, he crossed that river with the whole of his army on the 24th of August, and having arrived at Aurungabad on the 29th, he understood that Dowlut Rao Scindiah, and the Rajah of Berar, had on the 24th entered the territories of the Nizam, by the Adjunttee Ghaut, with a large body of horse.

They had actually passed between Colonel Stevenson's corps (which had moved to the eastward, towards the Badowley Ghaut) and Aurungabad, and had proceeded as far as Jalna-poor, a small fort, capital of a district of the same name, about forty miles east of that city; but no sooner did they hear of the arrival of the British troops, than they moved off to the south-east, with the reported intention of crossing the Godavery, and marching upon Hyderabad.

In consequence of this the major general immediately marched to the left bank of the Godavery, and continued to the eastward by that route; the river itself, at that period, being fordable in every part, a circumstance hitherto unknown at that season of the year.

The precision and rapidity of the movements of General Wellesley's little army had all the desired effect of preserving the territories of our ally from depredation.

The confederate chieftains, finding that their usual mode of predatory warfare was not attended with success, determined to alter their proposed plan of operations; and accordingly crossed over to the northward, towards the Adjunttee pass, where they were reinforced by a detachment of regular infantry, under the command of Messieurs Pohlman and Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a numerous and well equipped train of artillery; the whole of which force was now collected about Bokerdum, and between that place and Jaffierabad.

During this period, the war under General Lake in the northern parts of India, and the operations of a small Bombay force acting against Baroach, were carried on with great brilliancy: we must confine ourselves, however, to the operations of the two corps under General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson, which joined on the 21st of September, near to Budnapoor, when it was determined that the two divisions should move forward separately towards the enemy, and attack them in the morning of the 24th.

The disposition which the confederate Rajahs had hitherto evinced, of wishing to avoid an action, and the necessity of making a vigorous effort against their main force, afforded no other means of effecting this important object, except the one now undertaken; and, therefore, the two divisions united on the 22d; Colonel Stevenson taking the western route, and the general advancing on the eastern line of march, round the hills between Budnapore and Jalna.

Having arrived at Naulniah on the 23d, and there received a report that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had moved off in the morning with their cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow, but were still in camp at the distance of about six miles from the ground on which he had intended to encamp, it seemed obvious that the proposed attack was no longer to be delayed; and having, therefore, provided for the security of his baggage and stores at Naulniah, he marched to the attack.

The importance and rapidity of this decision are strongly illustrative of our hero's military character; for if he had not

adopted this spirited and judicious resolution, the enemy would probably have harassed him during the whole day of the 23d; and, as he could afford no other security to the baggage and stores than the entrenchments which he might be able to construct, it must have been exposed to loss if he had waited until the 24th, according to the plan proposed, for the junction of Colonel Stevenson's detachment; at all events, he would have been obliged to leave more than one battalion for their protection.

There were other imperative reasons for hastening the attack, which seemed to have weighed much with him; for he considered that by this prompt measure the enemy would be kept in complete ignorance of the position of the baggage and stores; and as there was every reason to believe that the confederate Rajahs would get information of Colonel Stevenson being on his march to join for the attack on the following day, it was extremely probable, in that case, that they would withdraw their guns and infantry in the course of the ensuing night, in order to avoid the combined assault of the British forces. The immediate attack, therefore, as the Marquis of Wellesley afterwards declared, was a measure dictated both by prudence and courage.

The force left at Naulniah, for the protection of the stores, consisted of a battalion of Sepoys, and four hundred of a native corps; when the British army moved on towards the confederates, who were found encamped between, and along, the course of two rivers, the Kaitna and the Juah, towards their junction. Their line extended east and west along the north bank of the Kaitna river, the banks of which are high and rocky, and are impassable for guns, excepting at places close to the villages.

The enemy's right, consisting entirely of cavalry, was posted in the vicinity of Bokerdun, and extended to their line of infantry, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of Assye. The British army had already marched fourteen miles to Naulniah; and the distance from that place to the enemy's camp being six miles, it was one o'clock in the afternoon before the British troops came in sight of the combined army of the confederates.

Although they had arrived in front of the enemy's right, yet Major General Wellesley determined, on reconnoitring the ground, to commence his attack on the left, where the guns and infantry were posted; and accordingly he marched round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of British infantry by the British cavalry in the rear, and by the Peishwah's and the Mysore cavalry on the right flank; a manœuvre dictated by the consideration that a defeat of their infantry was most likely to be effectual.

The British army now advanced, and the river Kaitna was passed at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, when the general, with quick precision, formed the infantry immediately in two lines, with the British cavalry as a reserve in a third, in an open space between the Kaitna and a *nullah*, or dry ravine, running parallel to it. The Mahratta and Mysore allied cavalry he posted on the ground beyond the Kaitna and on the left flank, so that they might keep in check a large body of the hostile cavalry, which had followed the right of the British line of march from the right of the enemy's position. The first line of the British army consisted of the advanced piquets to the right, two battalions of Sepoys, and the 78th regiment; the second line was formed by the 74th regiment, and two battalions of Sepoys; and the third consisted of the 19th dragoons with three regiments of native cavalry.

The British army and their allies amounted to no more than 1,200 cavalry, European and native, 1,300 European infantry and artillery, and 2,000 Sepoys; in all about 4,500 men.

The enemy's force consisted of sixteen regular battalions of infantry, amounting to 10,500 men, (exclusive of the Rajah of Berar's infantry, and the irregulars of Scindiah,) commanded by European officers, having a well equipped train of artillery exceeding one hundred guns in number, and some very large bodies of cavalry, amounting to a number between 30 and 40,000 men.

As soon as the British troops advanced to the Kaitna river, the enemy commenced a heavy cannonade, but with trifling effect; and the moment they discovered that it was General Wellesley's

intention to attack their left, they changed the position both of their artillery and infantry, drawing them off from the line along the Kaitna, and extending them from that river across to the village of Assye, which lies upon the Juah river, and there flanked the right of the British troops. To the rear of this first line, and nearly at right angles with it, a second line was formed having its left to the village of Assye, and its rear to the Juah river, along whose bank it extended in a westerly direction.

The attack now commenced, and the British troops advanced rapidly under a very severe cannonade, whose execution at first was terrible. A fire had been commenced, at a distance of four hundred yards, by the British artillery; but General Wellesley seeing that it made little impression on the powerful and extensive line of the enemy's infantry and guns, and finding that it could not advance with sufficient rapidity, on account of the number of draught bullocks which had been disabled, immediately ordered the artillery to be left behind, and the whole line to move on.

This was the critical moment; and it is important to observe, that much of the success of the day depended upon the prompt and judicious order of the general to Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell with the British cavalry, directing him to take care of the right of the infantry, as the line advanced towards the enemy, who, unable to stand the charge, were soon compelled (notwithstanding their tremendous cannonade) to fall back upon their second line in front of the Juah river. At this time too, the casualties in the British line were dreadful; the piquets of the infantry and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the army, had severely suffered from the fire of the enemy's guns on their left near Assye; and the 74th in particular was so thinned by the enemy's cannonade, that a body of cavalry was encouraged to charge it, at the very moment when it was most exposed to this heavy fire; but they being in their turn charged by the British cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell, they were driven with great slaughter into the river Juah.

At length, overawed by the gallant and steady advance of the British troops, the whole of the enemy's line gave way in every



direction, and the British cavalry, who had already crossed to the northward of the Juah river, now cut in among their broken infantry, charging the fugitives along the bank of the river with the greatest effect, and with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this signal defeat, yet the small number of the British had not permitted General Wellesley to secure all the advantages gained in the heat of the action ; so that many of the enemy's guns, which had been left in his rear, were actually turned upon the British line by numbers who, having thrown themselves upon the ground near their artillery, had been passed by the conquerors, on a supposition that they were dead. This is an artifice often practised by the native troops in India ; and they now availed themselves of it to commence and keep up for some time a very heavy fire.

Though the enemy's line too was thus completely broken through ; yet still, from its extent, some corps were able to move off the ground in very good order ; and, at this critical juncture, Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell was unfortunately killed whilst charging, at the head of the British cavalry, a body of infantry which had retired and was again formed in full force. The enemy's fire too in the rear became so galling, that General Wellesley himself was obliged to take the 78th regiment and the 7th regiment of native cavalry, in order to put a stop to it. Even at this moment the fortune of the day again became doubtful ; for the enemy's cavalry, which had been hovering round the British troops during the whole of the action, still continued near the line ; but that body of infantry which had re-formed being completely cut down by the British cavalry, notwithstanding the fall of their commanding officer, and General Wellesley, at the same moment, compelling the scattered parties of the enemy in the rear of the line to abandon the guns which they had seized and turned against the British troops, the victory was now decisive, and the enemy retreated in full flight, leaving twelve hundred men dead upon the field of battle, immense numbers of their wounded scattered over the country, ninety-eight pieces of can-

non, seven standards, their camp equipage, and a large quantity of military stores and ammunition.

Major General Wellesley, in his despatches, stated that the victory, which was certainly complete, had nevertheless cost very dear, the loss in officers and men being very great; and that of Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell, and other officers in particular, being greatly to be regretted.\* He gave great praise to Lieutenant Colonels Harris and Wallace, for the manner in which they conducted their brigades; and to all the officers of the staff for their ready and useful assistance; and he observed, that the officers commanding brigades, nearly all those of the staff, and the mounted officers of the infantry, had their horses shot under them.

It was not until the evening of the 24th that Colonel Stevenson was able to join General Wellesley, having been prevented by several impediments from prosecuting his march as rapidly as was expected. This shows more fully the propriety of the general's measures in hastening the attack; but at the same time reflects no blame whatever upon the gallant colonel, whose conduct had always been marked by the greatest zeal, activity, and public spirit. He was immediately detached in pursuit of the enemy, and his success in harassing their retreat fully justified General Wellesley's reliance upon his services.

The good consequences of this victory were soon displayed; for on the 8th of October Major General Wellesley received a notification from the camp of Scindiah, from a person of the name of Ballajee Khoonjur, who was one of Scindiah's ministers,

\* The total number killed were, Europeans 198, natives 428, and 325 horses; the wounded were 444 Europeans, 1,138 natives, and 111 horses, and there were only 36 missing. The officers killed were Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell of the 19th dragoons, and Captain R. Boyle; Captain H. Mackey, 4th native cavalry; Lieutenant Bonomi, 5th native cavalry; Captain Lieutenants Steele and Fowler, Lieutenants Lindsay and Griffiths, of the artillery; Captains D. Aytone, A. Dyce, R. Macleod, J. Maxwell, Lieutenants J. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, J. Grant, R. Nielson, L. Campbell, and M. Morris, of the 74th; Lieutenant J. Douglas of the 78th; and Lieutenants Brown, Mavor, and Perrie, of native corps.

requesting that he would despatch a British officer, together with an officer of the Soubah of the Dekan, (or Nizam,) to the confederate camp, for the purpose of negotiating terms of peace between the British and the Nizam, and the confederate Mahratta chiefs. The major general, however, well knew that this man had been originally despatched by the Peishwah from Bassein to Scindiah, for the purpose of explaining to him the nature of the engagement entered into by the Peishwah and the British government, when that diplomatic personage, with all the accustomed versatility and treachery of a Mahratta politician, had deserted his master's service, betrayed his confidence, and attached himself to the service of Scindiah. General Wellesley, however, had other sufficient reasons for declining this business at the present moment; for as there was no mention made either of the Rajah of Berar, or of Scindiah himself, in this communication, he had no certainty of the application being authorized by either of those chieftains, who might thus, when convenient, disavow any knowledge of the matter; and he also suspected that it might be merely a feint on the part of those chiefs, as the presence of a British officer in the enemy's camp at that moment would have tended to raise the spirits of their troops, and prevent their dispersion; nay, might have been represented by the insidious enemy as an attempt on the part of the British government to sue for peace.

He therefore refused to comply with the request; but at the same time signified his disposition to receive at the British camp, with every mark of honour and respect, any person duly empowered by the direct authority of Scindiah, or of the Berar Rajah, to propose terms of peace to the allied powers.

The confederates finding their tricks, if they were such, completely circumvented, and not choosing to treat on serious terms, now collected the remains of their broken army, and moved along the bank of the Taptee river to the westward, as it appeared to General Wellesley, with the intention of proceeding to the southward by the road which leads to Poonah; he therefore determined to remain to the southward in order to watch their

movements, and detached Colonel Stevenson for the attack of Boorhanpore, which fell shortly afterwards.

In the general orders, which were issued at Calcutta on the receipt of the intelligence of this decisive victory at Assye, the governor general observed that at the close of a campaign of the most brilliant success and glory in every quarter of India, this transcendent victory demanded a testimony of public honour equal to any which the justice of the British government in India had ever conferred on the conduct of our officers and troops, in the most distinguished period of our military history; and he added that the important benefits resulting from that triumph of our arms were not inferior to the splendour of the action itself, when it was considered that the immediate consequences derived from the exertions of that day were the complete defeat of the combined army of the confederate chieftains; an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources, especially of their artillery, in the Dekan; the expulsion of a hostile and predatory army from the territory of our ally the Nizam; and a seasonable and effectual check to the ambition, pride, and rapacity, of the enemy.

As a further mark of distinction to Major General Wellesley's brave army, the governor general ordered that honorary colours with devices properly suited to commemorate that splendid victory should be presented to the various corps employed in that service; and he directed that the names of the brave officers and men who fell in the battle, should be commemorated, together with the circumstances of the action, upon the public monument to be erected at Calcutta, to the memory of all those who had fallen in the public service during that campaign.

In execution of the plan which General Wellesley had laid down of watching the motions of the confederate chieftains, he arrived at Poolinary, about sixteen miles north from Aurungabad, when he observed that they did not advance to the southward, as he had been informed they first intended; and in the night of the 15th of October, he received information so particular of the disposition of their troops, baggage, &c. that he concluded

they intended to interrupt Colonel Stevenson, who was then detached towards Asseerghur after the capture of Boorhanpore. He, therefore, immediately put his army in motion on the 16th, and descended the Adjunttee Ghaut on the 19th; at which time Scindiah had moved to the northward; but he halted on the return of the British, and returned to Taptee, where the Rajah of Berar separated from him, as it was said, for Chandore. But General Wellesley, well knowing the tricks of these wily chieftains, suspected immediately that this report had been circulated for the purpose of drawing him to the southward again; therefore, as Colonel Stevenson had by that time got possession of Asseerghur, and was fully equal to any thing that could be sent against him, he immediately reascended the Ghaut, and thereby frustrated the plans of the enemy.

In this judicious opinion and determination he was confirmed by receiving authentic intelligence, on the 24th, that the Rajah of Berar had actually passed through the hills which form the boundary of Candeish, and had moved towards the river Godavery.

General Wellesley, therefore, proceeded up the Ghaut with the British army on the 25th, continued his march to the southward on the 26th, and on the 29th of October had passed Aurungabad. At this period the Rajah had advanced gradually to the eastward, and was at Lakeegaun, about twenty miles north from Puttrin, on the arrival of the British troops at Aurungabad; and so much was he alarmed at their advance, that during the time of their being in his vicinity up to the 31st of October, he moved his camp no less than five times, expecting as rapid a visit as they had paid him at Assye. His force, however, was now very much reduced, and so little efficient, that 5,000 of his cavalry, whom he detached to attack a convoy of grain and bullocks under the charge of Captain Baynes with three companies of native infantry, two guns, and 400 of the Mysore cavalry, were actually defeated by that small force.

After the capture of Asseerghur, by Colonel Stevenson, the unremitting activity of General Wellesley was still directed to

the various military objects in view; and in the latter end of November, various conferences having taken place with Scindiah's ambassadors, who now felt himself obliged to negotiate, a cessation of arms in the Dekan was agreed upon on the 23d of that month.

During the progress of the negotiation, the Rajah of Berar had moved towards his own dominions, and the major general had descended the mountains by the Bagoorah pass, for the purpose of coöperation with Colonel Stevenson, who was then proceeding to the attack of Gawilghur.

On the 28th of November, the British troops under General Wellesley came up with a considerable body of Scindiah's regular cavalry, accompanied by the greater part of the Berar infantry; and, as Scindiah had not fulfilled the conditions of the truce which he had himself sought with such eagerness, General Wellesley resolved, notwithstanding the eager and insidious remonstrances and protestations of Scindiah's vakeel, who was still in his camp, to attack the enemy with all possible vigour. He immediately, therefore, moved forward to Parterly, when he was joined by Colonel Stevenson, the confederates having retired from that very spot, their rear being still discernible from a lofty tower in the vicinity. The day was still extremely hot, and the troops were so fatigued that the general felt inclined to postpone the pursuit until the evening; but he had scarcely halted when large bodies of the enemy's horse were noticed in front: and the piquets being immediately advanced, the whole army of the confederates was distinctly perceived, formed in a long line of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, extending a front of five miles on the plains of *Argaum*.

The moment was now critical; and the general, finding that the enemy was determined on a general action, instantly advanced with the whole army in one column, in a direction nearly parallel to the enemy's line, and with the British cavalry leading. As the British army neared the confederates, it was drawn up in two lines, the first consisting of the infantry, the second of the cavalry, and the right wing was advanced in order to press on the

enemy, whilst the left was supported by the Mysore horse. No sooner had the British come pretty close, than they were attacked by a large body of Persian troops, who maintained a most desperate conflict for some time, but were at length totally destroyed: at the same time a charge of Scindiah's cavalry was repulsed with great bloodshed by the first battalion of the 6th, when the whole hostile line gave way, and fled with the utmost precipitation and confusion, leaving thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition in the hands of the victors.

The rout was, in fact, in all parts of the line, most decisive; and General Wellesley immediately pushed on for Gawilghur, in order to commence his operations against that fortress. The services of the army were now laborious in the extreme, and such as scarcely had ever been witnessed. In this service General Wellesley's army took a principal share, although his object was principally to cover the operations of the siege, but if possible to carry into effect attacks upon the southern and western faces.

On the 12th, at night, Colonel Stevenson's detachment opened two batterics, from brass and iron guns, to breach the outer fort and the third wall; and another to clear and destroy the defences on the point of attack. A fourth battery was erected by General Wellesley's own division on the mountain, under the southern gate, for the purpose of effecting a breach in the wall near that gate, or at least to divert and distract the attention of the garrison. On the night of the 16th, the breaches of the outer wall of the fort were judged practicable; and a storming party was ordered for the attack, at ten o'clock on the following morning, under Lieutenant Colonel Kenny. At the same time two attacks were to be made from the southward; one on the south gate, by a strong detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Wallace, and the other on the gate of the northwest, by a similar force under Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers. These latter dispositions, however, were principally intended to draw off the enemy's attention from the real point of assault.

At the appointed hour the three parties moved forward; and that under Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers reached the northwest gate, just as the enemy were attempting to escape through it from the bayonets of the assailing party under Lieutenant Colonel Kenny. A dreadful slaughter now ensued, and Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers entered the fort without any difficulty. The wall in the inner fort, in which no breach had yet been made, was still to be carried; after some attempts upon the gate of communication between the inner and outward forts, a place was at length found, at which it was possible to escalate the wall; and here Captain Campbell, with the light infantry of the 94th regiment, fixed the ladders, scaled the wall, and opened the gate to the storming party, who were quickly masters of the place. The garrison had been numerous, and their slaughter was great. The effect of these operations, and of the others in the north, were so powerful, that on the 17th of December, 1803, General Wellesley had an opportunity of displaying his diplomatic powers, by the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the Rajah of Berar in his camp at Deogaum, in which the Rajah renounced all adherence to the confederacy, ceded to the Company the provinces of Cuttack and Balasore, and engaged never to keep in his service the subjects of any state which might be at war with England.

Soon after this that hitherto restless prince, Scindiah, finding that he had no remaining chance of gratifying his ambition or revenge at our expense, finding himself without an ally, and having exhausted all his resources and expedients, thought proper to send an ambassador to the general also, when another treaty was concluded, on the 30th of December, highly favourable to the British interests.

In the month of February, 1804, the principal officers of Major General Wellesley's army agreed to present him with a vase of gold, worth 2,000 guineas, of superior workmanship, with an inscription recording the *Battle of Assye*, that event so decisive of the campaign in the Dekan. The committee directed a notification of this intention to be presented to him, to which



he acceded, with some very handsome compliments to the officers and army; and it is not irrelevant to mention here that the elegant offer of a Star of St. Patrick, which his brother the marquis had with so much propriety declined receiving as a present from the army, had been followed up by that star being actually presented to him by the India Company themselves, to whom the army had transmitted the star itself, with a request that it might be so appropriated in a compliment which did honour to the liberality of all parties, and was a very handsome accompaniment to their grateful grant of a liberal pension to the governor general for a term of twenty years.

Major General Wellesley having proceeded for Bombay, in April, 1804, after the ratification of the various treaties, accompanied by the ambassadors from Scindiah, also by some of the native chiefs, he was received not only with all the military honours due to his high station, but with all the respect which the inhabitants in general could show him for his eminent services. Addresses of the most respectful and flattering nature were presented to him, to which he returned modest answers, attributing all his success, not to himself, but to his gallant troops, and to the exertions of the civil government in coöperating with him. Splendid fêtes were given by the governor, and the whole routine of public dinners, &c. &c. was gone through; and, in short, nothing omitted which could testify the high sense entertained of his merit, by all ranks and distinctions in the settlement. In the address, it was very justly asserted that the difficult negotiations which he carried on with two hostile powers, when, at the same moment, his attention was occupied by the operations of the field, did the greatest honour to his talents as a statesman, and displayed a happy union of political skill and of military science.

The general repose of the British empire in India was for a short time disturbed by the hostile conduct of Holkar, who, we have seen, had been formerly in league with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar.

The conduct of this chief, however, was predatory in the extreme; for he spared neither friends nor foes, but actually

made an attack upon Scindiah's fort of Agimere, during, or at the period of, the negotiations with the British.

On the settlement of the peace with Scindiah and the Bera Rajah, though the British government saw the futility of entering into alliance with Holkar, yet it was still an object of policy to the Marquis of Wellesley to keep him quiet if possible; and as we had nothing to do with the question of succession between him and his brother, it was proposed to conclude an engagement with him, agreeing to leave him in the unmolested exercise of his authority, provided that he would engage to abstain from any act of aggression against the British government or its allies.

After considerable delay and negotiation, a letter was addressed by Holkar to General Wellesley, still commanding the army in the Dekan, and which appeared to be written in February, 1804, in which he demanded the cession of certain districts in that country as the price of peace, and added, that in the event of a war taking place, although he might be unable to oppose the British in the field, still that "countries of many hundred coss\* should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt; that the British commander in chief should not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and that calamities would fall on hundreds of thousands of human beings in continual war, by the attacks of his army, *which overwhelms like the waves of the sea.*"

Even this insolent letter did not make any impression on the moderation of the British government; but it was at length found absolutely necessary, in the month of April, to reduce his mischievous power, which seemed solely bent on disturbing the general tranquillity.

The operations of this war, however, fell principally on General Lake; and the army in the Dekan, under Major General Wellesley, had little more to do than to undertake the reduction of the strong fortress of Chaadore, whose fall, though redounding highly to the military skill of the general, affords no remarkable features for our present biography.

\* A coss is about two English miles.

The complete destruction of Holkar's force soon led to a general pacification, and the Marquis of Wellesley having determined to give up the government of India and return to England, the Marquis of Cornwallis was appointed to succeed him, and every preparation made for the departure of the governor general and his brother as soon as the Marquis of Cornwallis should arrive.

In the early part of this year, (3d of May, 1804,) Major General Wellesley received the high honour of the thanks of both houses for his gallant and judicious services; and about the same period a very handsome sword, of the value of 1,000 guineas, was presented to him at Calcutta. The feelings of the natives of India towards the major general may be drawn from an address presented to him in the month of July, 1804, by the inhabitants of Seringapatam, in which they declare that they had reposed for five years under the shadow of his auspicious protection; that they had felt even during his absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that his care for their prosperity had been extended to them in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied his mind; and that they were preparing in their several casts, the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God, who had brought him back in safety: and they concluded with this remarkable and memorable prayer—"and when greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all casts and all nations deign to hear with favour our humble and constant prayers for your health, your glory, and your happiness!"

On the 1st of September, 1804, the gallant subject of our biography was elected a knight companion of the most honourable order of the bath; from which period we must speak of him as the honourable Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Preparing, in March, 1805, to return to England, Sir Arthur Wellesley received the most flattering and respectful addresses from all quarters; from the army, from the garrison of Seringapatam, and from the native inhabitants of that city; to all which he returned answers highly expressive of his gratitude for their

good wishes, as well as to his own regiment, the 33d, who, from their head-quarters at Vellore, testified their grateful feelings for his unremitted attention to their happiness and welfare, during a period of twelve years that he had been their lieutenant colonel. He shortly after proceeded for England, and, late in 1805, arrived once more in his native country.

## SECTION IV.

Preliminary observations—Expedition to Hanover—Marriage of Sir Arthur Wellesley—Genealogical anecdotes of the Longford family—Appointed chief secretary for Ireland—War with Denmark—Policy of France towards that country—Expedition prepared for Copenhagen—Sails for the Sound—Arrival at Copenhagen—Landing of the army—Proclamation by the commander in chief—Commencement and operations of the siege of Copenhagen—Danish army formed in the interior—Sir Arthur Wellesley detached with a separate command—Operations of his army—Battle of Kioge—Defeat of the enemy—Copenhagen bombarded—Capitulation—Generous and prudent conduct of the conquerors—Fleet and arsenals taken possession of—Military anecdotes of the siege, &c.—Return to England—Thanks of both houses to the officers employed—Political conduct of Sir Arthur respecting Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

IN the latter end of 1805, Great Britain having agreed to a partial support of her friends on the continent, a considerable force was accordingly embarked at Ramsgate and landed at Bremen, where they were welcomed by the inhabitants with every mark of kindness; and a proclamation in the name of his majesty to his Hanoverian subjects was immediately issued. On the 17th of December Lord Cathcart arrived there from England, and took the command of the British army then quartered in Bremen and in Hanover; and at this period Sir Arthur Wellesley, having been placed upon the staff, was promoted to the command of a brigade.

The circumstances of the time prevented this small force from accomplishing any thing; and accordingly they soon after returned from the continent, landing at Yarmouth in February, 1806.

After his return from Hanover, Sir Arthur Wellesley for a short period had a command upon one of the coast districts; and then his discipline and management were as creditable to his military character as a tactician, as his general deportment to-

wards the officers under his command was to his reputation as a soldier and a gentleman.

On the death of the Marquis of Cornwallis, then Colonel of the 33d regiment, Sir Arthur Wellesley was named to succeed him, having been its lieutenant colonel thirteen years, and present with it for almost the whole of that time, during a period of active service.

We have now seen Sir Arthur Wellesley in the characters of a military chief, and of an able diplomatist; a new scene, however, now opened to him as a politician, he having taken his seat in the house of commons for Newport in Hants, in which situation he showed equal abilities as in the field, particularly in the defence of his brother. His eloquence and intimate knowledge of the subject were irresistible on the minds of all who were not warped by party or by prejudice.

Early in 1806 he was married to the Honourable Miss Elizabeth Pakenham,\* daughter of the late Lord Longford, but his

\* This very ancient and noble family is originally of Saxon descent; and we find that in the reign of Edward III. Sir Lawrence Pakenham, *knt.* married Elizabeth, second sister and coheirress of Thomas Engaine, Baron of Blatherwick, in Northamptonshire. From him descended Sir John and Sir Hugh Pakenham, brothers, in the reign of Henry VIII. and the consequence of the family may be drawn from the fact that Sir John, the eldest, was possessed of the manor of Lordington in Sussex; and his only daughter and heiress, Constance, was married to Sir Geoffry de la Pole, *knt.* second son of Sir Richard de la Pole and Margaret Plantagenet, only daughter of George Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward IV.

Sir John, the youngest, was lord of the manor of Norwitham in Lincolnshire, and left issue a son, John, and a daughter, Anne, who was married in the reign of Henry VIII. to Sir William Sidney, (first tutor, and then chamberlain and steward of the household to King Edward VI.) by whom she was mother of Sir Henry Sidney, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland. These marriages are sufficient proof of the early importance of the family. John Pakenham, already spoken of, had issue only one son, Robert; and he must have died about the close of Edward's reign; for we find that in the first year of Queen Mary, that princess granted the wardship and marriage of his son to Sir Henry Sidney.

Robert left an only son, Hugh, who having no less than eighteen children, all males, three of them went over to Ireland, as officers of the army, in 1642,

talents were not permitted to sink into oblivion, as we find him a very few days after in his place in the house, attending to the charges brought forward against the marquis, his brother.

In the early part of 1807, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed chief secretary for Ireland, under his grace the Duke of Richmond; and on the 8th of April, 1807, was sworn in a member of the British privy council in consequence of that political office.

During the subsequent months he was sometimes resident in Ireland, attending to the duties of his office, and at others fulfilling his duty in the united parliament.

At this period the attempts of Bonaparte to shut the Baltic against English commerce were nearly successful, and his plans of seizing the Danish navy for the purpose of the invasion of these countries was well known to government; a fact which, though denied by many at the time, has since been fully proved

serving in the troops sent to suppress the unhappy rebellion which then raged in that country.

The eldest of these three was Henry, the ancestor of the present family, who had for his services a grant of the lands of Tullinally, now better known by the name of Pakenham Hall, in the county of Westmeath; which are still in possession of the family. He seems to have been of considerable consequence in that part of the country, and was elected member of parliament for Cavan, in the county of Meath, after the Restoration.

His son, Sir Thomas Pakenham *knt.* was prime serjeant to his majesty in Ireland. He died in 1709, and was succeeded by his son Edward, who sat in parliament for the county of Westmeath during great part of the reign of George I. His eldest son, Thomas, also sat in parliament for the town of Longford, and in 1756 was called up to the house of peers as Baron Longford. He married Elizabeth, heiress of Michael Cuffe, *Esq.* of Ballinrobe in the county of Mayo, and had a son, Edward Michael, the second lord. Lady Longford being grand niece of the last Earl of Longford, she was, on the 5th of July, 1775, created Countess of Longford, with remainder to her son Edward; but he, though Baron Longford never inherited the earldom, dying before his mother. He married Elizabeth daughter of Hercules Langford Rowley, *Esq.* by the late Viscountess Longford, and had a numerous family consisting of the present earl; Edward Michael now a major general, and serving with his illustrious brother-in-law; William, a captain in the navy, unhappily wrecked in the *Saldanha* frigate; and, amongst other daughters, ELIZABETH, THE PRESENT MOST NOBLE MARCHIONESS OF WELLINGTON.

by his own state papers. Little, indeed, was now wanting to the completion of his plan but the consent of Denmark : she opposed, however, but a feeble obstacle to his ambition, and he proceeded by threats and negotiations to prepare her for his views ; whilst his army on the borders of Holstein was ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might offer for a sudden irruption into that country.

The British government, having kept an attentive eye upon these transactions, determined to frustrate them by sending to sea a powerful military and naval armament, consisting of about twenty-seven sail of the line, with 20,000 men ; and such had been the secrecy attending the whole preparation of this expedition, that it was at sea before either its destination or its force was known to the public.

The command of the troops was given to Lord Cathcart, and Sir Arthur Wellesley accompanied him on the service ; and the naval part of the expedition was under the direction of Admiral (now Lord) Gambier, assisted by other gallant officers.

On proceeding to sea one division of the fleet, under the immediate superintendence of Commodore (now Sir Richard) Keats was detached to the Great Belt, with instructions to allow no military force of any description to enter the Island of Zealand ; and this enterprising, yet prudent, officer having conducted his squadron through an intricate and difficult navigation, stationed his vessels in such a manner as completely to fulfil the orders intrusted to him. The British army was conducted by the main body of the fleet to the Sound, when the operations commenced with the greatest vigour.

A proclamation was immediately issued by the commander in chief declaring the circumstances under which they were obliged to proceed to this debarkation.

On the 18th of August, 1807, the reserve of the army landed at five in the morning with the ordnance of a light brigade, and occupied the heights of Hellerup, before Copenhagen ; and in the course of the day additional troops were landed. A flag of truce was then received from Major General Peyman, comman-



der in chief in Copenhagen, requesting passports for the two Princesses of Denmark, nieces of his Danish majesty, to leave Copenhagen, which were granted; and in the evening the army marched by their left in three columns, and lay upon their arms in advance. At daybreak the whole army marched in three columns to invest the town, and every arrangement was made for that purpose in the course of the day. About noon hostilities actually commenced by the piquets towards the left being attacked, whilst the Danish gun-boats, rowing out of the harbour, cannonaded the left of the line with grape and round shot.

The piquets soon drove in and pursued the enemy, and resumed their posts, being supported by the advance of part of the line; and the British gun brigs and bombs, having been towed as near the harbour as they could be, opened a fire, though at a considerable distance, upon the Danish gun-boats, forcing them, after a long and heavy cannonade, to retire into the harbour.

On the succeeding day (the 18th) the attacks of the gun-boats were renewed upon the light British vessels in advance; but a brigade of artillery on shore being brought to enfilade them, they were forced to retire, as well as part of the garrison which had come out in advance upon the road. In the course of the day the engineering and entrenching tools were landed, and every thing was prepared for commencing the siege in form.

At three in the morning of the 24th, the army was under arms; the centre advanced its position to the height near the road which runs in a direction parallel to the defences of Copenhagen, on to Fredericksburg, occupying that road and some parts beyond it. The guards at the same time occupied the suburbs on that side, flanked by a detachment of the 79th; and there they dislodged a piquet of the enemy, who, in their retreat, concealed thirteen three pounders which were afterwards found.

All the piquets of the garrison now fell back to the lake or inundations in front of the place, the British piquets occupying their ground, and in the afternoon, the garrison having showed itself on all the avenues leading from the town, as it with a design either to recover ground or to burn the suburbs, the dif-

ferent corps in advance drove them in on all sides, and at the same time seized all the suburbs on the north bank of the lakes, some of which were only 400 yards distant from the ramparts.

In this affair Sir Arthur was engaged with his division, and General Sir David Baird's division turned, and carried a redoubt which the enemy had been some days constructing, and which was that night converted into a work against them.

In the course of the evening the Danes set fire to the end of the suburb nearest to Copenhagen, the upper part of which was occupied by the guards, and was now defended by them; but this was of little avail, for in consequence of the general success along the whole line, the works which had been intended, and indeed begun by the British army, were abandoned, and a new line of attack was taken, within about 800 yards of the main body of the place, and even nearer to it on the flanks.

On the 25th the cannonade was briskly kept up on both sides; and on the 26th, it being understood that the Danish General, Castenschiold, had formed an army in the interior of the island consisting of three or four battalions of disciplined troops, besides a number of armed peasantry, it was judged necessary to disperse this force; and Sir Arthur Wellesley was despatched for that purpose, having with him the reserve of the army, eight squadrons of cavalry and horse artillery, under Major General Linsingen, the 6th battalion of the line, King's German Legion, and a light brigade of artillery. He marched to Roskild Kroe,\* and on the 27th advanced in two divisions to attack the enemy in front and rear at Koenerup; but finding that Castenschiold had moved up towards Kiøge, he took a position to cover the be-

\* Roskild is the most ancient town in Zealand, and is situated on a branch of the Jisefjord, in a valley, whilst the banks of the river form a very striking contrast with its low situation. It has been long in a declining state; but the scenery around it is beautiful in the extreme, with vast forests of oak, through which at intervals various spires and steeples steal upon the view, whilst in its immediate vicinity are innumerable corn fields, interspersed with cheerful hamlets and detached farmsteads. In the town is the ancient cathedral and burying place of the royal family.

sieging army. On the evening of the 27th, he placed Colonel Redan with a force at Vallens-break, and on the 28th General Linsingen marched towards Roskild, thereby forming on the right of Sir Arthur's main body.

Sir Arthur Wellesley having had reason to believe that General Castenschiold still remained at Kiøge, he determined to attack him on the 29th of August, and arranged with General Linsingen, that he should cross the Kiøge rivulet at Little Sellyas, and turn the Danish left flank, whilst he himself should move along the sea road towards Kiøge, and attack in front.

Both divisions accordingly broke up in the morning of that day, and marched according to the concerted plan. When Sir Arthur approached to Kiøge, he found the enemy in force on the north side of the town and rivulet, from whence they immediately commenced a cannonade upon the patrols of hussars in front of the British troops. At this time their force consisted of three or four battalions of the line, with cavalry on both flanks, and apparently a large body beyond the town and rivulet. At the time agreed upon with General Linsingen, Sir Arthur formed his infantry in one line, with the left to the sea; having the two squadrons of hussars upon the right; and as there had been some appearance of a movement by the enemy to their left, and he had not had any communication with General Linsingen, and of course was not certain of his having passed the rivulet, Sir Arthur, with his accustomed promptitude, immediately ordered the attack to commence *in échelon* of battalions from the left, the whole being covered by the first battalion of the 95th regiment, and by a well directed fire from the artillery.

It fell to the lot of the 92d regiment to lead this attack; and they performed their part in the most exemplary manner, being equally well supported by the 52d and 53d.

So warmly were they handled by the British, that the enemy were soon obliged to retire to an entrenchment which they had formed in the front of a camp on the north side of Kiøge, and they also made a disposition of their cavalry upon the sands, to

charge the 92d in flank, as advancing to attack this entrenchment.

By this disposition of the Danish force, Sir Arthur was obliged to move Colonel Redan's hussars from the right to the left flank, and to throw the 43d into a second line; after which the 93d carried the entrenchment, and forced the enemy to retreat into the town in great disorder. They were followed immediately, in the most gallant style, by Colonel Redan and his hussars, and by the first battalion of the 95th regiment, and afterwards by the whole line of infantry. Upon crossing the rivulet, it was found that General Linsingen's corps had advanced upon the right flank, and the whole joined in the pursuit.

At this moment Major General Oshoken, the second in command of the Danish force, who had joined the enemy on the preceding evening with four battalions, attempted to make a stand in the village of Herfolge; but he was attacked so briskly by the hussars, and a small detachment of the 1st and 95th, that he was compelled to surrender, along with Count Wedel Jarisburg and several other officers, and about 400 men. On this occasion the loss of the enemy was very great; many fell during the action, and there were sixty officers and eleven hundred men taken prisoners. In the flight the Danes threw away their arms and clothing, and many stands of the former fell into the hands of the pursuers, besides several pieces of cannon.

On the 1st of September, 1807, the mortar batteries being nearly ready for service, the place was summoned; but the answer arrived late, accompanied by a desire to take the pleasure of his Danish majesty on the subject, so that no reply could be sent until the following day.

On the evening of the 2d of September, the land batteries, and the bomb and mortar vessels opened a tremendous fire upon the town, and with such effect, that in the course of a very short time a general conflagration appeared to have taken place. The fire was returned but feebly from the Danish ramparts, and from the citadel and crown batteries.

On the evening of the 5th of September, a letter was sent by

the Danish general to propose an armistice of twenty-four hours for preparing an agreement on which articles of capitulation might be founded. The armistice was declined, as tending to unnecessary delay, and the works were continued; but the firing was countermanded, and Lieutenant Colonel Murray was sent to explain that no proposal of capitulation could be listened to, unless accompanied by the surrender of the fleet.

On the 6th this basis having been admitted by a subsequent letter, Lord Cathcart sent for Sir Arthur Wellesley from his command in the country, where, as was said in the public despatches, he had distinguished himself in a manner highly honourable to himself and advantageous to the public service; and he, with Sir Home Popham, and Lieutenant Colonel Murray, was appointed to prepare and conclude the terms of capitulation.

These officers, with their accustomed energy, having insisted on proceeding immediately to business, the capitulation was drawn up in the night between the 6th and 7th of September, and the ratification exchanged in the course of the morning, Lieutenant Colonel Burrard taking possession of the gates at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The Danish navy, delivered up in consequence of this treaty, consisted of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats, besides vessels on the stocks; in the arsenals were found stores sufficient to fit this fleet for sea; and though all the men of war, both English and those captured, were laden with those stores, there still remained enough to fill 92 sail of transports, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand tons.

The loss sustained by the British, in both services, was comparatively trifling; but that of the Danes is computed to amount to about 2,000 persons, with the destruction of nearly 400 houses, besides the burning of property, &c.

The damage done by the bombardment was considerable. The number of houses totally destroyed amounted to 305, and about 600 damaged. Among the former was the great cathedral, the steeple of which fell in with a dreadful crash. All the buildings

in the neighbourhood of the cathedral were a heap of ruins, it being chiefly against that quarter that the bombardment was directed, probably, as it was said, from a wish to do the least possible injury, that being the worst built part of the town. A great part of the buildings of the university were also destroyed. The number of individuals who perished was reckoned at 600, and nearly as many severely wounded.

In short, the distress and confusion in the city was truly horrible; but after the capitulation, the magistrates and principal inhabitants gave every relief to the unhappy sufferers, who were chiefly of the lowest classes. For this purpose several churches, which had not suffered from the bombardment, were fitted up for their reception; and it is much to the credit of the British commander in chief, that he offered to send in provisions and other necessaries, but his proffered assistance was refused.

After the posts were thus taken possession of, the squadron proceeded to rig and fit out the ships that filled the spacious basins where they were laid up in ordinary, and at the expiration of the term limited in the capitulation, they were all, together with the stores, timber, and every other article of equipment found in the arsenal and store-houses, prepared for conveyance to England, where, with the exception of one line of battle ship which grounded on the Isle of Huen, and was destroyed, they all arrived safely in the month of October.

On the return of Sir Arthur from Copenhagen, he was in his place in the house on the 1st of February, 1808, when the thanks were delivered by the speaker to the various officers.

During a long and arduous session he dedicated himself to the civil service of his country with as much advantage to it, and honour to himself, as he had heretofore done in the field; and when we contemplate the records of parliament in the years 1806, 7, and 8, it is impossible not to admire that manly comprehensiveness of mind, and liberality of sentiment, which fitted him for every discussion, and carried him through many warm debates without ever creating him a single enemy.

Even in May, 1808, Sir Arthur continued his official services, and in that month brought in a bill for enforcing the residence of the episcopal clergy upon their benefices in Ireland, and for erecting churches, and building glebe houses, in that kingdom. From these civil duties, however, he was soon called to take a command on the scene of his present glory ; we shall, therefore, postpone all further detail to the succeeding section.

## SECTION V.

Conduct of Bonaparte towards Spain—Proposed emigration of the Spanish royal family—Downfall of the prince of peace—Abdication of the Spanish king—Madrid taken possession of—Inauguration of King Ferdinand—Journey of King Ferdinand to Bayonne—Its consequences—Anecdotes of the Queen of Spain—Anecdotes of Bonaparte—Massacre of the inhabitants of Madrid by the French—Joseph placed on the throne of Spain—Enthusiastic patriotism of the Spanish people—Evacuation of Madrid by the French—Enthusiasm of England in the Spanish cause—Expedition prepared to defend Portugal, and succour Spain—Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeds to Spain—Joins the British admiral off the Tagus—Returns to Mondego Bay in Portugal—Lands the army—Anecdotes—March of the army—Topographical and military sketches of the country—March to Roliça—Attack and defeat of the French—Anecdotes—Reinforcements arrive from England—Arrival of Sir Harry Burrard—Battle of Vimiera—Sir Arthur Wellesley superseded in the command—Arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple—Convention of Cintra—Anecdotes of the French, &c—Military and political observations—Sir Arthur Wellesley returns to England—Court of Inquiry—Observations—Explanation of Sir Arthur's conduct—Issue of the court of inquiry, and his majesty's marked displeasure at the convention, &c. &c. &c.

NO sooner had Bonaparte concluded the treaty of Tilsit, by which he had subjugated the north of Europe, than he turned his attention to the west of the continent; and not content with having the resources of Spain and Portugal, and their transatlantic dominions, at his command, resolved to place some of his own family upon their thrones.

He took advantage of the opportunity which the vileness and imbecility of the Spanish royal family gave him, to pour large bodies of French troops into the Spanish territory; nay, so great was the infatuation, supposing that they only came to preserve order and tranquillity, that the government actually issued orders to receive and treat the French even on a more liberal scale than was used towards their own native army. By these means, in a very short time, all the most important posts and fortresses of Spain, nay, the whole of Portugal, were in French occupancy.



when Napoleon ventured to throw off the mask, by complaining to the King of Spain, that the measure of uniting the Prince of Asturias to one of his own relatives was not in sufficient forwardness. The king had no course left but to express his wishes for the immediate solemnization of the marriage; to which Bonaparte only replied by sending his creature, Don Eugenio Isquierdo, back to Madrid with confidential communications, the proceedings on which were conducted with such secrecy, that their tenor can only be known from the fact that soon after his departure from the Spanish capital, to return to Paris with the issue of his negotiations, the king and queen had begun to make preparations to emigrate from their native country to their transatlantic dominions in Mexico.

Deprived of what they considered the support of the prince of peace, the miserable occupants of the Spanish throne dared no longer attempt to exercise the royal power, but immediately put in execution that resolution, which it has been asserted they had for some time entertained, of resigning the sovereign power to the Prince of Asturias.

The French general, Murat, judging the present circumstances favourable to his master's cause, immediately advanced to Madrid; giving out, that Bonaparte might be expected immediately at the capital, and the proximity of his troops operated on the Prince of Asturias to make him anxious, at least for the present, to conciliate the good will of the invader. In fact, so very anxious was he to avert or to avoid any cause of displeasure, that after having communicated his accession to the throne in the most friendly, affectionate, and even submissive terms, he actually sent a deputation of three of the first grandees to Bayonne, to compliment his imperial majesty in his name.

Murat now played his master-stroke of policy; for, having possessed himself of the Spanish capital, he avowed that his political interference was now necessary; and that until the emperor acknowledged Ferdinand VII. it was impossible for him to take any step that should appear like an acknowledgment of his right to the crown; and that, in fact, he was under the necessity of

treating only with the former monarch. Those who had supported the son, certainly in opposition to the father, now saw the tables completely turned, and too soon knew what they had to depend upon; whilst, to give some colour to it, Murat listened to the solicitations of the king and queen to release their favourite Godoy from imprisonment.

In this state of things, as Cevallos informs us, the young monarch made his public entry into Madrid, and Murat, reiterating the reports of the immediate arrival of Napoleon, induced the king's brother, Don Carlos, to set off with great haste to meet him; at the same time his agents were busy in persuading the late king and queen to enter a protest against their own act of abdication.

With promises of friendship and favour Murat continued to urge the youthful monarch to proceed towards the north in order to compliment his *imperial majesty* on his arrival in Spain; and not having met Bonaparte at Burgos, he was induced, by the earnest and pressing entreaties of Savary, to proceed on to Vittoria. There he actually received information of Napoleon's arrival at Bordeaux, in his way to Spain, and soon after of his being at Bayonne on the 15th of April. Ferdinand, after a little hesitation, determined to proceed to Bayonne, but scarcely had he crossed the limits of Spain when he began to express his surprise that no person had yet come to receive him.

On his approach to Bayonne, he was met by the Prince of Neufchatel, and Duroc, the marshal of the palace, accompanied by a detachment of the guard of honour which the citizens of Bayonne had formed to attend upon Napoleon. They invited Ferdinand to proceed for Bayonne, where a place had been prepared for his residence; and there he arrived on the 20th of April; but his suspicions were now a little more alarmed by the circumstance of this abode being but little suitable to the rank of its royal guest. He seems also to have been much struck by this remarkable and expressive neglect forming a striking contrast with the studied magnificence with which he had prepared for the reception of the upstart emperor at Madrid. In fact,

the whole scene made a great impression on him; but whilst he was engaged in considering his feelings and his doubts concerning the meaning of a reception which he had so little right to expect, it was announced to him that Napoleon was on his way to pay him a visit. In a short time he arrived, accompanied by a number of his generals; and the youthful monarch having gone down to the street door to receive him, the two monarchs embraced each other with every appearance of friendship and affection. The Emperor of the French, as it is related by an eyewitness, staid but a short time with his majesty, and they embraced each other again at parting; when, soon after, Marshal Duroc came to invite the king to dine with Napoleon, whose carriages were coming to convey him to the castle of Marsac, about a mile and a half from Bayonne, then the residence of the French court. On his arrival there Bonaparte came as far as the steps of the coach to receive him, and having again embraced him, led him by the hand to the apartment provided for him.

During these occurrences the Queen of Spain had interested herself very much with Murat for the release of Godoy; and in consequence Bonaparte himself had written to Ferdinand VII. *previous* to his having him in his power, to which the young monarch had merely answered that Godoy's life should be spared. But Bonaparte immediately wrote to Murat to demand him from the *Junta*; he in consequence was released, and immediately conveyed to Bayonne, escorted by a guard; and there he arrived on the 26th of April, had a castle appointed for his residence, and was treated in all respects as a person of the first consequence; and on the last day of the same month the abdicated monarch, with his consort, arrived there also, thus putting the whole of the Spanish royal family into the power of Napoleon.

To follow up the occurrences which ensued after this, previous to the final imprisonment of the different branches of the royal family, and trace the deep policy and crafty villany of Bonaparte through the whole transaction, would be to encroach

too much on our own subject.\* We shall proceed, therefore, to the public cause of Spain, whose inhabitants paid very little attention to the various acts of abdication and renunciation in favour of Napoleon, but seemed determined to act for themselves.

The policy of Bonaparte induced him to send also for the Queen of Etruria and her son, (daughter and grandson of the Spanish king,) then at Madrid; but this the populace opposed; though, at last, they permitted the unhappy prisoners to set off. The sorrow and alarm, however, of the queen and her son, had such an effect that the popular resentment and indignation were raised to the highest pitch, when an aid-de-camp of Murat's arrived with a detachment of French troops, and a scene of the bloodiest carnage commenced. It has been a matter of debate who were the first *aggressors*; but that is of trifling consequence; it is enough that the French began with volleys of musketry, by which numbers were killed, many of whom had not joined in the affray. The news immediately spread like wild fire, and every person who could procure arms rushed to the scene of action. The issue of this business unhappily only tended to rivet more

\* One occurrence which took place on this occasion is almost too incredible for history, and perhaps surpasses events of any former times.

In the evening of the 5th of May, Napoleon went to visit the king and queen; and there were present at this interview their son Don Carlos, Godoy, and several of the Spanish grandees. After some time the young Ferdinand was sent for to hear, as one present had observed, "in the presence of the emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating, that I dare not record them." The real scene, however, is known to have been thus:—the queen, in a transport of passion, addressing Ferdinand, cried out, "Traitor! you have for years meditated the death of the king *your father*; but thanks to the vigilance, the zeal, and the loyalty, of the prince of peace, you have not been able to effect your purpose; neither you, nor any of the infamous traitors who have co-operated with you for the accomplishment of your designs. I tell you to your face that you are my son, *but not the son of the king!* and yet, without having any other right to the crown than those of your mother, you have sought to tear it from us by force. But I agree and demand that the Emperor Napoleon shall be umpire between us; Napoleon, to whom we cede and transfer our rights, to the exclusion of our own family. I call on him to punish you and your associates as so many traitors, and abandon to him the whole Spanish nation."

closely the chains of the capital, and indeed in some measure to crush, in its very infancy, the rising spirit of the Spanish people, who were now called upon by a proclamation of their late monarch, dated at Bayonne on the 4th of May, to obey Murat as the lieutenant general and viceroy of the kingdom, by his new title of "Grand Duke of Berg," and his still newer one of "Cousin to the King of Spain."

Every means that could be taken to ensure the complete subjugation of Spain, and to prepare for the reception of the "Intrusive King," were now put in force.

Bonaparte called an assembly of the notables throughout the kingdom, who were to send deputies to Bayonne, for the purpose of forming a new constitution. The Spanish nation, however, had now opened its eyes, and was not to be blinded, even by the inauguration of King Joseph with a train of Spaniards at his heels, though some of them were of the first families in the country.

Nor were the patriots of Spain ever misled by the proclamations of their former princes, (who now, hurried as prisoners into the interior of France, were content to sign any thing for the preservation of their lives,) but in a manner almost miraculous, not only in the provinces at home, but even in their most distant colonies, started up simultaneously, "as if moved by one indignant soul into an attitude of defence and defiance, and declared eternal war against their perfidious and insolent oppressors; an event which certainly astonished all Europe: and no one perhaps more than the tyrant who had treated them with so much contempt."

The enthusiasm which burst forth in this country, in favour of the Spanish cause, both on the part of the government and of the people, is well remembered; and perhaps never were the exertions of a government so universally applauded by a people as upon that occasion.

In Spain, the *insurrection*, as it was called, spread rapidly; provincial juntas were established, which were soon resolved into one supreme central junta; a friendly concert was immediately esta-

blished between the patriots and the various British naval and military officers in the vicinity of Spain; the greatest harmony prevailed amongst the various provinces; and the French fleet in Cadiz harbour was taken possession of.

In Portugal, too, the sacred flame of liberty began to spread, and was fostered by the judicious conduct of the British admiral, Sir Charles Cotton; an alliance offensive and defensive was entered into by the two regenerated nations of the peninsula; and the friendliest relations were established between them and Great Britain.

Events of the most important nature, previous to our taking an active part, now took place with the greatest rapidity. In Andalusia, the battle of Baylen, and the subsequent surrender of the French army under Dupont, gave great spirits to the patriotic cause, and the *French imperial armies* were repulsed by almost unarmed citizens in every quarter.

From Valencia General Moncey was repulsed with slaughter and disgrace; at Saragossa,\* the very women acquired military renown; at Gerona, also, even the monks became a church

\* Without entering minutely into the details of the Spanish exertions, we may notice a proof of the general enthusiasm on the 11th of June, during the battle of Saragossa. This was of the most desperate description. The first assault of the French produced a sanguinary conflict of two hours' duration; which was still of doubtful issue, when the brave patriots became furious, and, with irresistible impetuosity, fell upon their opponents, and gave no quarter to any that fell into their power. The result was a complete and signal defeat of the French army. The enemy, having been reinforced, renewed the attack on the 30th, and the action which ensued continued until the 2d of July, when they were again defeated with immense slaughter. Several thousand women followed the brave patriots to battle, continually cheering their husbands, sons, and brothers, and uttering sentiments of the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the infamous oppressors of their country. They carried with them flaggons of wine, with which they occasionally refreshed the fatigued patriots. Fearless of death, many of them shared the perils of the conflict with their heroic countrymen; and, to the eternal disgrace of the enemy be it related, five of these virtuous heroines, to whom the generosity of the ancients would have paid the most devout respect, were most cruelly put to death by the savage ruffians into whose power they unfortunately had fallen.

millitant; and although the French General Duhesme marked his progress round Barcelona, and indeed throughout the north and east of Spain, with the utmost rapacity and cruelty, yet the issue of the battles of Cabezon and of Medina del Rio Seco made it necessary for the "intrusive king," with his army, to leave Madrid.\* The liberation of the Spanish troops in the north of Germany, so insidiously drawn away by Bonaparte, and their return to their native country, gave fresh spirits to the patriots; whilst the progress of the insurrection in Portugal induced the British government to adopt a system of active coöperation; and the French being now driven from the northern provinces of Spain, an army under the command of *Sir Arthur Wellesley*, though destined for Portugal, where indeed it ultimately landed, was now sent out, and its first assistance offered to the Spaniards.

This expedition, which at first consisted of about 10,000 men, was assembled in Ireland, and sailed from Cork on the 12th of

\* On this occasion, Joseph plundered all he could lay his hands on, taking away the jewels and plate of the palaces, &c. on which it became a common jest among the Spaniards, "that not being able to keep the crown upon his head, he had put it in his pocket."

The French having prepared every thing for their march from Madrid on the 1st of August, (Joseph having already set off on the 31st of July,) on the preceding evening they forced open the gates of the public treasury and bank, putting the inhabitants in such terror that they passed a most anxious night, thinking that a general pillage was about to take place. At two in the morning, a cannonade was heard, which, though at first considered as a fatal signal, was in fact but the precursor of the brightest and happiest day that ever rose over Madrid. On this signal all the guards were withdrawn, and all the French filed off towards the parade, whence they marched off. Scarcely did the day appear when all the people ran through the streets, and the posts of the guards, but nothing was to be found. They passed to the Retiro, (a palace in the environs,) and there they found only a few dying wretches, and here and there a dead body. They beheld, with amazement, the ditches, pallisadoes, and terrible batteries directed against the city. The gun carriages were in flames; above 70 cannon were spiked; and about 2,000 barrels of powder thrown into a large pond. The inhabitants of Madrid, on seeing themselves delivered from the destructive apparatus, gave thanks to the Supreme Being, and immediately began to assume for their badge the portrait of Ferdinand the 7th.

July,\* arriving at Corunna on the 20th of that month. A few days before his arrival at this port, the battle of Rio Seco had taken place; and the Spaniards, unable to retain their positions, were then retreating fast in different directions. Cuesta was then proceeding with one division to Salamanca; and Blake, with another, was pushing on for the mountains of Asturias.

Sir Arthur Wellesley immediately, according to the spirit of his instructions, and influenced by the intelligence he received, offered the assistance of the force under his command to the Junta of Galicia; but they replied that they did not want men, and that they required nothing from the British government but money, arms, and ammunition. At the same time, they expressed their confident expectations that the British army might be of great service to the general cause, if it could be employed in driving the French out of Lisbon. It was also stated that the French were still in force in the north of Portugal, not very distant from Galicia; and therefore against them, in the first place, Sir Arthur might commence an attack with every probability of success, and with the certainty of relieving the province of Galicia, if the insurrection at Oporto still existed, or could be revived when he reached that city.

His services thus declined at Corunna, Sir Arthur sailed to Oporto, where he was informed by the bishop, who then acted as governor, that the Portuguese force in the north was fully sufficient to repel any probable attack of the French. In order now to ascertain *where* his forces might be of assistance, Sir Arthur left his little army at Oporto, and proceeded off Lisbon, for the purpose of having a conference with the English admiral, Sir Charles Cotton; and with him he consulted on the practicability of forcing the entrance of the river Tagus, and making an

\* Sir Arthur Wellesley still retained his situation as chief secretary to the lord lieutenant; and some altercation having taken place on that subject in the British parliament, it turned out, much to his credit and self denial, that he did not receive any salary, and therefore was honourably clear of all charges of participating in a job. Indeed his disinterestedness has appeared on many other occasions, and is even now most fully exemplified in his constantly refusing to accept those pecuniary rewards which the generous gratitude of both Spain and Portugal have repeatedly offered to him.



attack upon Lisbon. The business was decided, however, immediately, by his receiving a letter from General Spencer, who was then off Cadiz with about 6,000 men. It had been intended that this force should coöperate with the Spanish army under Castanos, in their operations against Dupont in Andalusia, or else in conjunction with Sir Arthur Wellesley's army; and as the Seville Junta thought the aid of the British totally unnecessary for the former service, and Sir Arthur was very judiciously of opinion that little could be expected from either his own force, or the smaller one of General Spencer, singly considered, he immediately sent orders to the latter officer to join him in order to proceed upon a plan of operations in Portugal, preconcerted with the naval commander. He, therefore, joined his own division; and, having procured all the information possible respecting the actual numerical strength and disposition of the French army, determined to make a landing in Mondego Bay, to the northward of Lisbon, where, although an open bay, yet he trusted he would be able to effect a landing, and to form his army in order of service without any immediate opposition from the enemy; and perhaps even be assisted and supported by the Portuguese troops, which had already assembled and advanced towards Coimbra.

Whilst preparing for these measures, Sir Arthur received despatches from the British government informing him that 5,000 men, under General Anstruther, were proceeding to join him, and that 12,000 more under Sir John Moore would speedily be sent for the same purpose. Along with this he received information from the shore that Dupont had surrendered, and that the army of Junot was considerably weakened, by the absolute necessity of detaching 6,000 troops under the command of General Loison to quell an insurrection that had broken out in the south of Portugal.

The expedition arrived in Mondego Bay on the 29th of July.\* On the 30th, Sir Arthur Wellesley rejoined it, and the signal was immediately made to prepare to land. On the 31st, how-

\* Sir Arthur Wellesley during this month attained the rank of lieutenant general.

ever, this was found impracticable from the surf on the beach, which, even in the calmest weather, runs very high. The *Alfred* lost nearly twenty of her people in sending boats on shore, and some men belonging to the transports were drowned. On the morning of the first of August the first division of the troops was landed, and marched towards Lavos, where they encamped until the whole were disembarked. General Crawford's division was the last to land: but a proportion of artillery were sent on shore every day.

The joy with which the troops were received by the Portuguese inhabitants was excessive. As the boats advanced to the shore, the air was rent by the acclamations of the people on the beach; and nothing was heard but blessings on the name of Great Britain, the deliverer of the oppressed. Notwithstanding the apparent difficulties attached to the landing of the expedition at this place, it must be recollected, that this was the only spot where he *could* land so as to be within a few days' march of Lisbon, and at the same time to possess facilities for the necessary refreshment of so large a body of troops after their voyage, and for their requisite equipment for a march to the capital. Indeed we are assured, that during the stay of the army at this place, the whole of the troops were put in such a state of comfort, from their supplies of every kind, that they were in a condition to undertake any fatigue or privation without a murmur, or any real detriment to the service. Besides, he was also enabled to receive assistance from Oporto, where all the mules and carriages of the country had been provided by the bishop of that place for his assistance, and had the fairest prospect of concentrating all his force with that under Generals Spencer and Anstruther, both of which detachments were important to him before he could well venture to approach the French force, which would otherwise have been too numerous for him to venture to attack. It was also a matter of serious consideration, that Marshal Bessieres had been successful against the patriotic army in Leon, and might, therefore, have easily advanced towards Portugal to relieve Junot; whilst, by choosing this position, Sir Arthur Wellesley would have had it in his power to intercept him, and to have given him battle,

before he could possibly form a junction with that general.\* It happened, fortunately, however, for the general cause, that in consequence of the successes of the Spanish army in the south of Spain, Marshal Bessieres found himself checked from any advance of that kind; and, from some circumstances of disaster was soon after compelled to retrograde from Beuavente to Burgos.

The certainty of Bessieres having retreated upon the latter place, and the junction of Spencer's division, now enabled Sir Arthur Wellesley to undertake, consistently with the utmost prudence, active operations against Junot, and that with every appearance of success. He, therefore, having completed all his arrangements with respect to the future comfort of the troops, and to their complete equipment for their march, moved early in the morning of the 9th of August to the southward, carrying with him seventeen days' provision for the whole army, so that, should the fleet be blown off the coast, he might yet act independently of it. Each soldier carried three days' food in his knapsack; there were five days' laden on mules; and nine in the commissariat. Each soldier was also furnished with 120 rounds of ball cartridge.

The British army reached the city of Leyria† on the 12th,

\* The difficulties Sir Arthur had to struggle with were very great, particularly from want of co-operation on the part of the Portuguese. Unfortunately a coolness arose from a demand made by the latter for a supply of provisions from the English stores, which it was impossible to comply with, without exposing our own troops to insufficient or precarious sustenance. In consequence of this refusal, the Portuguese corps separated from the British force; and though Sir Arthur used all his endeavours, and made every reasonable proposition to reunite the two armies, he could not accomplish his purpose. He was even refused the reinforcement of 1,000 infantry, 400 light troops, and 200 cavalry, whom he promised to support from the British stores. In consequence of this want of co-operation, he was forced to abandon his first intention of attacking the posts of the enemy which were established along the coast, and to advance upon Roleia.

† At Leyria information was received that Junot had taken possession of the strong passes in the mountains on the high road to Lisbon, with the advance of his army, under Generals Laborde and Breniere: and that he proposed moving the division of his troops under Loison to the assistance of the former, and would most probably bring up, himself, the main strength of the

which had lately been occupied by the French, but who had retreated to Ahobaca on their approach, having first plundered the town, and committed the greatest atrocities.

Sir Arthur Wellesley marched with the British force from Leyria\* on the 13th of August, and arrived at Ahobaca the next day, which place the enemy had abandoned on the preceding night. On the 15th he arrived at Caldas, when he found French army on the same position. It was also now ascertained, that the enemy's advance posts were at Ahobaca, about a day's march in front of the British army. Under these circumstances it became essential to their future success, that the British should possess themselves of these passes, before Laborde should be reinforced by Loison, and perhaps by Junot himself with the whole of the French army, in a position which, thus strengthened, might oppose the most serious obstacles to the future success of the campaign.

It has been said that Sir Arthur Wellesley was so *anxious for glory*, that he advanced with unnecessary rapidity, for the purpose of gathering laurels, before others should come to supersede him in the command. It is evident, however, that if Sir Arthur had not acted as he did at Roleia, and then pushed on for Vimiera, *even the convention itself* could not have taken place, as the French would have been so strongly posted, as to bid defiance to the whole concentrated force of the three expeditions from Cork, Portsmouth and Harwich. To accomplish the object in view, every species of baggage or camp equipage, which could at all impede the rapid movements of the army, even to the soldiers' tents, were left at Leyria; and for the remainder of their march the British troops slept in the open air; which, indeed, as the weather was very fine, was not attended with any inconvenience.

\* Until their arrival at Leyria, the army regularly encamped every night, principally in the woods and vineyards. Sir Arthur purposely avoided the towns and villages which lay in his route, in order to escape, as much as possible, putting the inhabitants to inconvenience. It may also here be remarked, that the troops, on taking up the ground for the night, were always encamped in columns, in their order of march, instead of the usual mode of encampment in line—by which much delay was avoided, both in encamping and in breaking up for their march, and was on the whole much more adapted to the comfort and convenience of the soldiery than the usual method. From the commencement of the march from Mondego Bay, up to the gallant business of Vimiera, there was not a single punishment inflicted for straggling or plunder, even of the minutest article.

Every day during the march each soldier had a pound of fresh meat, and a sufficiency of bread and wine for his comfortable subsistence; and on coming into action there was scarcely a sick man in the hospitals of the camp, the whole army being in such a state of vigour and health that they were capable of any enterprise they might be put upon.

that the enemy, about 4,000 in number, were posted about ten miles distant at Borica, occupying Brilos, about three miles from Caldas, with their advanced posts. As the possession of this latter village was important to his further operations, he immediately determined to occupy it; and, as soon as the British infantry arrived upon the ground, directed that the place should be occupied by a detachment consisting of four companies of riflemen, of the 60th and 95th regiments. The enemy, consisting of a small piquet of infantry and a few cavalry, made a trifling resistance and retired; but they were followed by a detachment of the English riflemen to the distance of three miles from Brilos. The riflemen were then attacked by a superior body of the enemy, who attempted to cut them off from the main body of the detachment, but which had now advanced to their support; larger bodies of the enemy then appeared on both the flanks of the detachment; and it was with some difficulty, that Major General Spencer (who had gone out when he heard of the advance of the riflemen) was enabled to effect their retreat to the village of Obidos, of which, however, they were left in quiet possession, the enemy removing from that vicinity.

This was the first operation of our troops; and, though they were overpowered by numbers, it showed that general spirit which has since so much distinguished them throughout the Portuguese campaigns.

Whilst Sir Arthur was at Caldas, the French General Laborde remained in his position at Roleia; he, therefore, determined to attack him on the morning of the 17th.\*

From the information which Sir Arthur received, he had rea-

\* It may be necessary to premise, that Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia is the town and ancient Moorish fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's piquet had been driven on the 15th, from which time they had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley as well as in the plain in front of their army, which was posted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence on which was a wind-mill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains in their rear.

son to believe that the enemy's force consisted of at least six thousand men, of which about five hundred were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and he also understood that General Loison, who was at Rio Major, would join General Laborde by his right in the night of the 16th. Sir Arthur accordingly formed his plan, on this information, and the army, breaking up from Caldas in the morning of the 17th, was formed into three columns; the right consisting of twelve hundred Portuguese infantry, and fifty Portuguese cavalry, being destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear, the left, consisting of Major General Ferguson's and Brigadier General Bowes's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and twenty British and twenty Portuguese cavalry, was destined, under the command of Major General Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Obidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia; this corps was also ordered to watch the motions of General Loison on the enemy's right; the centre column consisting of four brigades under Generals Hill, Nightingale, Crawford, and Fane, with four hundred Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of nine pounders, and another of six, were destined to attack Laborde's position in front.\*

\* From the old Moorish fort of Obidos, the road runs to the southward over an inclined sandy plain, towards Roleia, a large comfortable village of about one hundred and eighty houses, every one of which possesses either an enclosed garden or an orchard. This assemblage of dwellings and enclosures occupies a small level plain, bounded on every side by heights, except to the west, where a few gentle swells only appear.

The country bordering the road, though commanded by the rising ground, is open and favourable for an advancing army, until it reaches the skirts of the gardens about Roleia. The face of it then changes to the left, entering from Obidos; built on an elevation is a small church, offering a good post for temporary defence, and to reduce which, if defended with spirit, artillery would be requisite. Orchards succeed, with olive plantations, vineyards, and gardens; the whole encompassed by hedges and ditches, overlooked by the woody heights, and which must be scoured by light troops before an army can safely pass. The French of course failed not to make the most of these advantages; and their riflemen, placed in every convenient spot, greatly annoyed our troops

Such was the force of our little army.

The columns being formed, the troops moved from Obidos about seven in the morning, the riflemen being detached into the hills on the left of the valley to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley. The enemy's posts were successively driven in, whilst the artillery moved along the high road, until the whole army formed in front of the French position, who, finding the British advancing rapidly, immediately retired by the passes into the mountains with the utmost regularity, and with such celerity of movement, that, notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, they escaped with but little loss, owing, indeed, to our want of cavalry to join in the pursuit.\* in their approach ; and many a sharp contest took place on the face of these wooded heights.

Just without the village of Misericordia, and to the right of the high road, is a rising ground, on which stand four wind-mills of strong masonry ; here, hidden by the buildings, the British artillery was placed ; an olive and cork grove skirts the base of this mount, and is extended parallel to the front of Monte Santa Anna, a distance of 1,000 paces to the left, shading the road, and occupying nearly the whole breadth of the plain.

Though not altogether close, it gave good cover, and was not easily seen into by the enemy. The principal column of the British was, therefore, enabled to approach the French position so closely, that it deployed for the different attacks without experiencing any great loss, notwithstanding the constant fire from the enemy's artillery planted on the summit of the hill.

The situation in which the British artillery was placed was so well chosen, that much praise is due to the officer commanding that part of the force. The French artillery, on the contrary, was placed so high that it could not be brought to bear upon either our line or our cannon, after our troops had left the grove ; yet it is but justice to say, it was advantageously seated to protect the retreat of their advanced parties, as well as to gall our columns on their march towards the position which the enemy had occupied.

\* A letter from an officer informs us that in the action of the 17th of August, the 24th regiment commenced the attack, and was bravely led on by Colonel Lake. The enemy occupied the village of Comumera, situated on the principal road to Lisbon, and of course necessary for our further operations. After some skirmishing, and under a heavy fire from the surrounding heights, we drove the French from this point ; but their principal position was on the heights of Rolcia, which overlook and overtop the village. These were our next object ; and on comparison, Salisbury Craigs (near Edinburgh) will give

The position which the enemy now took up was a formidable one; but Sir Arthur immediately made dispositions for attacking you the nearest idea of them, with the exception of a few passages leading from the top. Our enterprising antagonists, you may be sure, had not neglected these; and climbing up through briars and brushwood, plied us successively with grape and musketry. I commanded the right centre company, the 5th from the right; each scrambled up the best way he could; and on gaining the summit, I found several officers, and about 60 privates of the 29th, who were in front of me: only one of my own company reached the top with me, the rest following fast. Here we lost that distinguished ornament of his profession, my good friend Colonel Lake, and many other gallant officers, long my companions in the regiment. My poor private, the moment he stepped up, was also knocked down by my side; in the agonies of death, he asked leave to shake hands with me; he was a good soldier, and few knew their duty better. Upon advancing, we were immediately attacked by a French platoon of 90 men, whom we repeatedly repulsed; these were, however, joined by another of the same number, who charged us with the bayonet, with whom we sustained the unequal conflict; but our little band being now considerably advanced in front, and reduced to 25, Major Wray, Captain Ford, and myself, and our brave companions, were under the painful necessity of surrendering. Even this, however, did not satisfy the sanguinary enemy, who seemed bent on bayoneting us all. After many narrow escapes, General Bernier at last came up, and with difficulty put an end to the carnage, and to the distressing scene around of the dead and the dying. I have been oftener than once engaged with French troops, and my former opinion still remains unchanged; that upon any thing like equal terms, they have no chance with the British bayonet; so it would have been the case now. General Bernier, I understand, (he was taken afterwards at Vimiera,) is now a prisoner in England, where our countrymen ought to treat him with every possible attention; he not only saved us, but the lives of many other parties. We were hurried away towards Lisbon, and put on board the *Vasco de Gama* in the Tagus, from which, by General Kellerman's convention, we were soon exchanged. Soldiers may mention their hardships, but never complain. I am now quite recovered, thank God. In place of wounded, they were very nearly returning us all killed, considering it inevitable. During the time we were prisoners, and before the convention was concluded, we dined with the commander in chief of the French army, General Junot. The dinner service was all *silver* plate, &c. and the desert was served completely in *gold*. In short, it was the most splendid thing of the kind I ever sat down to. There were about twenty French officers, high in rank, of the party, who were all very attentive; General Junot himself was equally so. I never did enjoy more pleasure than when General Beresford ordered me to march back at the head of 90 British prisoners to the camp, where we were joyfully received. Indeed, my own brave company drew up, and gave us three times three cheers. The army is still encamped, and has suffered considerably from sickness, &c.



it; and the riflemen being already in the mountains on his right, no time was lost in assailing the different passes, not only for the support of the rifle corps, but with the hopes of a complete defeat of the French division. The British army resolutely advanced to the different passes, which were all difficult of access, and some of them most obstinately defended by the enemy; but nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the British, particularly of the 9th and 29th regiments in the centre, who reached the point of attack some time before those on the flanks could arrive up. The enemy were now driven from all the passes which led up the mountains, and the British troops were advanced in the plains on their summits, the 9th and 29th being most in front, which two regiments sustained three most daring and gallant attacks made by the French troops in order to cover the retreat of their main body; but though the assailants were, in return, as gallantly repulsed, yet they succeeded in effecting their retreat, principally from the want of cavalry on the part of the British, and from the difficulty of bringing up through the passes a sufficient number of troops and artillery to support those who had first ascended.

In this affair Sir Arthur Wellesley gave every credit to his enemy for the ability and celerity with which he defended his formidable positions; but it must be remembered, that although the British army was superior in numbers, yet it was only a very small part of it that came into action. Immediately after the battle of Roleia, Brigadier General Anstruther arrived from England with reinforcements, and the French began a general movement, as General Loison joined Laborde at Torres Vedras, when they both began their march towards Lisbon, after which General Junot arrived at Torres Vedras with a small corps, and there was every appearance of a general junction of the whole French army between that place and the capital.

On the 18th Sir Arthur Wellesley heard the favourable intelligence of the division of the British force (despatched from Harwich) under Brigadier General Anstruther, being off the coast of Peniche. He accordingly marched to Lourinho, about eight miles distant from Villa Verde, inclining towards the sea, in order to cover the landing of the newly arrived force, and to

effect a junction; both which measures being completely effected in the evening of the 19th, on the 20th Sir Arthur advanced with a strength of nearly 13,000 effective men, in pursuit of the enemy, and took up his ground that evening at the village of Vimiera,\* which he occupied.

In the evening of that very day, Lieutenant General Sir Harry Burrard arrived from England, to take the command of the troops in Portugal until Sir Hew Dalrymple should join from Gibraltar. General Burrard had left that part of the expedition which he commanded some days before, in the care of Sir John Moore, and came himself in a fast sailing vessel to the coast. Having had communication with Sir Harry on board, Sir Arthur, in the belief that he would be attacked the next day by the enemy, ordered the troops to be under arms at sunrise on the 21st.

After the affair of the 17th General Laborde had fallen back upon Torres Vedras, a tolerably large town, twenty-one miles north of Lisbon, on the day of his defeat, having retreated in the whole about seventeen miles, and was joined in the evening by General Loison. General Junot arrived there on the following day; and thus, the whole French force being concentrated, they determined, as Sir Arthur Wellesley had foreseen, on attacking the British at Vimiera.

The English troops were under arms, agreeably to their orders, by break of day of the 21st; but the French not appearing, they were allowed to take some refreshment. About seven o'clock,

\* The village of Vimiera is situated on a valley with the river Maceira running through it: at the back, and to the westward and northward of this village, there is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, whilst the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road leading from Lourinho and the northward, to Vimiera. On this mountain, the greater part of the British army was posted; and on the southern and eastern sides of the town, the riflemen were posted, near a hill which was entirely commanded from the main position of the army, and which at the same time commanded all the vicinity to the southeast. The road to Lourinho passed on its left; but it had not been occupied, as the camp was only taken up for one night, and there was no water in its vicinity. The cavalry and the reserve of artillery were in the valley between the hills on which the British infantry were posted, so as both to flank and support the advanced guard.

certain intelligence of the approach of the French having reached the commander in chief, the *generale* was beat, and the whole army assembled in a moment with a regularity and quickness most admirable, and with an ardour to be led against the enemy which no danger could damp, actuated as they were by truly British feelings, and the utmost confidence in the skill of their leader. There being still time, Sir Arthur altered his position, and took that in which he determined to await the attack of the enemy, about a mile in front of the village.

The French first appeared at eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry on the left, upon the heights, and on the Lourinho road; and the eye of the British general soon decided that their object was to make an attack on the advanced guard, and upon the left of the position; he, therefore, ordered General Ferguson's brigade to move across the ravine with three pieces of cannon to the heights on the Lourinho road, where he was followed by other brigades, which all formed with their right upon the valley which leads into Vimiera, and their left upon the other ravine which separates those heights from the range towards the sea, and on which the Portuguese troops were posted, supported by Brigadier General Crawford's brigade. Sir Arthur considering that the advanced guard, on the heights to the southeast, was sufficient for their defence, Major General Hill was ordered with his brigade as a support to the main body of infantry in the centre, and to serve as a reserve for the whole line; and in aid of this the cavalry were drawn up in their rear. The enemy's attack now began in several columns upon the whole of the troops on the height in the centre; and on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and were only checked and driven back by the bayonets of that corps. The second battalion of the 43d regiment was also closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the churchyard to prevent them from entering the town. On the right of the position they were repulsed also by the bayonets of the 57th regiment, which corps was successfully supported by the second

battalion of the 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank.

Hitherto the British operations were completely defensive; but now Brigadier General Ackland's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, attacked the enemy in flank, whilst a cannonade was kept up in the flank of their columns by the artillery on those heights. At length, after a most obstinate contest, the whole body of the French, in this quarter, was driven back in confusion from the attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. They were pursued by the small detachment of the 28th light dragoons; but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers that this detachment suffered much, Lieutenant Colonel Taylor being killed whilst leading it on.

Nearly at the same period of time the enemy attacked the heights in the road to Lourinho, supported by a large body of cavalry, and conducting themselves with all the impetuosity so congenial to their mode of warfare. This attack, however, was received with great steadiness by Major General Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments; and without waiting for the enemy to close, the British charged them with such gallantry that they instantly gave way, whilst the whole line continued to advance, supported by Brigadier General Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, advanced and formed part of the first line. This support was further strengthened by the 29th regiment, and by Brigadier Generals Bower and Ackland with their brigades, whilst Brigadier General Crawford and his division, with the Portuguese troops in two lines, advanced upon the height on the left.

The advance of General Ferguson's brigade was decisive; for he took six pieces of cannon, made many prisoners, and killed and wounded a great number.

A slight attempt was afterwards made by the French to recover part of their artillery, by an attack upon the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken: but these regiments immediately retired from the low grounds in

the valley, a little distance up the heights, where they halted, faced about, fired, and again advanced upon the enemy, who by this time had advanced to their former position in the low ground, and from whence they were soon driven with a very great loss.

The field of battle was now completely in possession of the British army, although the French had concentrated the whole of their force in Portugal in one spot, with a great superiority both of cavalry and artillery.

Never were the valour and discipline of his majesty's troops more conspicuous than upon this occasion, and the commander in chief gave them all due praise for their gallant conduct; but though all the merit of the conduct of this action is certainly due to Lient. General Wellesley, it is necessary to mention that he was superseded in the command in the very middle of it by Lieutenant General Sir Harry Burrard, who landed soon after the enemy's attack had commenced. He did not claim any of the well earned praise, however, due to Sir Arthur; but very candidly stated in his despatches that he was fortunate enough to reach the field of action in time to witness and approve of every disposition that had been, and was afterwards, made by Sir Arthur Wellesley, his comprehensive mind furnishing a ready resource in every emergency, and rendering it quite unnecessary to direct any alteration.

The loss of the British army, in such an extended line, was certainly very great, but not so heavy as might have been expected, amounting to 135 killed, of whom four were officers, 534 wounded, including 37 officers, and the total of killed, wounded, and missing, amounting to 740. This glorious battle was fought on Sunday the 21st of August, and we have seen that Sir Harry Burrard arrived even during its progress; but it is a curious fact, that a *superior* officer, in the person of Lieutenant General Sir Hew Dalrymple, arrived the very next day and took command of the British army.

A few hours after his arrival, General Kellerman came in from the French lines with a flag of truce from Junot, (the *soi disant* Duc d'Abrantes,) in order to propose an agreement for a cessation

of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops.

On this occasion, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed by the commander in chief to communicate with General Kellerman, and some articles were proposed and partly acceded to; but, as it was necessary to have the concurrence of the British naval commander in chief then lying in the Tagus, he very properly objected to the 7th article, which stipulated for the neutrality of the port of Lisbon as far as regarded a Russian squadron, then lying there, and for its being permitted to sail without interruption.

On this occurrence it was regulated that Lieutenant Colonel Murray, quartermaster general to the army, should proceed, along with General Kellerman, to the discussion of the other articles, and to conclude a definitive arrangement founded on them. Much discussion now took place, and the commander in chief found it necessary to avail himself of the limited period prescribed for the suspension of hostilities, to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance; and at length the ratifications of the definitive convention were exchanged on the 30th of August, 1808.\*

\* The purport of this convention was, that Portugal should be delivered up to the British troops, and that the French army should evacuate with arms and baggage, but not as prisoners of war. That the latter should be transported to France in British vessels, in which the French army should also carry all its artillery, tumbrils, horses, and sixty rounds of ammunition for each gun, together with all *the property of the army*, private property, military chest, cavalry horses, &c. &c

Before the action, General Junot harangued his army in the following laconic terms—"Frenchmen! there is the sea. You must drive those English into it!" In fact they did their utmost for three hours and a half to obey his orders, but never during that time made the smallest impression on the English line, although they repeatedly rallied, and tried every thing which could be effected by rapidity of movement, and particularly of attack. At length, wearied out and beaten, they were forced to give way in every direction, and were pursued off the field of battle by the British infantry for a distance of three miles.

On this glorious and ever memorable day, the most conspicuous circumstance connected with it is, doubtless, the conduct of the British commander

After the convention, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lord Paget, General Ferguson, and a number of officers of inferior rank, came home on leave of absence.\*

in chief, as well from his rank as his responsibility—on him every thing turned—to his conduct every one looked—the good or the evil which might result from the expedition was referred to him alone.

It is proper further to remark, that during the whole of this period, Sir Arthur never went under cover at night, but always slept on the ground in the open air; he was the first up, and the last down, of the whole camp; sleeping constantly in his clothes, and his horse piqueted near him, ready saddled, to be mounted at a moment's warning.

During the whole of this anxious period, he was cheerful, affable, and easy of access—enduring every privation himself, he was attentive to the wants of all, and ever active to obviate them.

Of his dispositions in the field notice has already been taken. In personal bravery he has been rarely equalled, never excelled. Conspicuous by the star of the order he adorns, he was constantly in the hottest part of the action; whenever a corps was to be led on, from the death of its officer, or any other unexpected cause, Sir Arthur was on the spot at the head of it.

“Is it wonderful, then,” is asked in the very perspicuous eulogium from which we have selected so much—“Is it wonderful that such a man should be the idol of his soldiers, and the admiration of his brother officers?” These sentiments were universally shown, when he was cheered by the whole line after the action of the 21st, exclaiming, “This glorious day is our *old general's*”—and when congratulated by the general officers on the victory, they all eagerly ascribed it to him, as “exclusively his own!”\*\*

\* Previous to the departure of Sir Arthur Wellesley, he received from the general officers a present of a piece of plate of the value of one thousand guineas, and a similar one from the field officers serving under him, “as testimonies of the high esteem in which they held him as a man, and of the unbounded confidence they placed in him as an officer.”

\*\* It is worthy of remark, that from the day on which he took the command of the army, until the day on which he resigned it, but three desertions took place;—those were all from the 5th battalion of the 60th, a rifle corps; and the parties were foreigners. Those men were caught and delivered up by the Portuguese to the English provost marshal; but were released without punishment, in consequence of the deportment of the corps to which they belonged. In presence of the whole army, Sir Arthur thanked them for their uniform gallant conduct, and restored them these men, without punishment, as the best reward he could bestow on them:

It must be confessed that the general regret and indignation of the whole nation was raised by this convention to a great height. In fact the throne was besieged, as it were, with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, calling strenuously for an inquiry into the motives, which could have led to the transaction. Much clamour was also attempted to be excited against Sir Arthur Wellesley, although he was no longer commander in chief when it took place; but, said those who thought proper to lay the blame on him, "he was the officer who signed the preliminary articles." To this his advocates answered, that he had merely signed those articles by order of his superior officers; "but then," replied his calumniators, "why did not he object to the business entirely?"

Before we enter more into the historical detail of the consequences of the convention, we shall, however, make one or two observations, which will perhaps set this part of the question at rest. In the first place, it is well known that Sir Arthur Wellesley, on many occasions, expressed to his friends in private his disapprobation of the convention; we cannot, therefore, suppose that he was active in its formation; and to the charge, that he did not hint any disapprobation when in consultation with the other generals, that is certainly nothing more than a bare surmise, and must fall to the ground when the facts of the case are considered.

When the proposals were first made by Junot, through the medium of General Kellerman, it is evident that the preliminary articles were sent ready *written in French*, and that they were not drawn up conjointly by the two negotiators, Generals Wellesley and Kellerman. All, therefore, that Sir Arthur Wellesley had to do, was to receive the French proposals, to lay them before the British commander in chief, and to obey his orders to sign them as a *basis for further discussion*, for the formation of a definitive convention.\* This was an order which he could

\* Though we have hazarded the speculation, and certainly not an improper one, that Sir Arthur Wellesley, in signing the preliminaries, acted *only as an agent*, we feel it but justice to all parties, to state more fully, that when Sir Hew



not disobey; an order which involved him in no responsibility. But when these preliminary articles were to be acted upon, what was the case?—Why, that Sir Arthur no longer continued as the negotiator, but was superseded by Colonel Murray, when the final articles were drawn up in English, still evidently upon the skeleton of a French *projet*, as appears from the attached observations of the English commander in chief.

Now, nobody ever thought of charging Colonel Murray with having done wrong in signing and arranging the final articles, a business, too, which Sir Arthur Wellesley had declined; if so, still less can any blame possibly attach to the latter for merely going through the official forms of the acceptance of a *projet* in order that it might be discussed. In fact, he had no right to refuse its acceptance in the first place, and when desired to sign it according to official form, he must have been guilty of disobedience of orders had he refused, having already voluntarily accepted the office of negotiator.

It is evident that no blame, therefore, could attach to him individually in this business as an active agent; but had he even approved of its principle, even then, it is a question of opinion whether the transaction was blamable or not. Indeed, the mem-

Dalrymple stated to the court that he had been grossly aspersed in the public prints, to serve, as it would seem, the cause of a more favoured officer, &c. and that he now pledged himself that Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and himself, were present with General Kellerman when the preliminaries were discussed and settled; that Sir Arthur Wellesley bore that prominent part in the discussion to which the important situation he held in the country, the glorious victory he had lately obtained, and the information, more particularly of a local nature, which he possessed, so well entitled him to assume—Sir Arthur with great candour replied, that he regretted exceedingly that any thing should have appeared in the public prints, which could be supposed to have the effect of serving him at the expense of the conduct or character of Sir Hew Dalrymple; and he disclaimed, in his own name and that of his relatives and friends, any approbation or knowledge of such sentiments. He then added, “that he had agreed with the commander in chief on the *principle* of those articles, though he had differed from him in some of the details; *he had signed the preliminaries at the desire of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, but not in consequence of any command or compulsion.*”

bers of the board of inquiry soon after instituted, who were certainly the best qualified to judge of the business from having the whole evidence before them, and from their military habits of life, even they were divided in opinion, with regard to its expediency.\*

Their statement, however, seems evidently to clear up any doubts which may still remain respecting Sir Arthur Wellesley's conduct and opinions during the whole transaction; for they stated, that soon after noon on the day of the battle of Vimiera the firing had ceased, and the enemy's cavalry were seen from the left of the British army, in bodies of about 200, by General Ferguson; and about the same time General Spencer saw a line formed, about three miles in front of the British centre. About half past twelve Sir Arthur Wellesley proposed to Sir Harry

\* During the progress of the inquiry, on the 22d of November, Sir Arthur Wellesley found it necessary to enter more fully into his own vindication, particularly after the delivery of a written paper by Sir Hew Dalrymple; and he then stated that the force he commanded consisted of 13,000 men, and he was taught to expect the aid of 6,000 Portuguese; the French army comprised 20,500 men, and was in possession of the fortress of Elvas, which in strength was inferior to none of the second class in Europe; yet he felt confident that the British force was competent to advance against the enemy, and bring the contest to a successful issue—that the line of march he had proposed to pursue was in his opinion every way preferable to that chosen by Sir Hew Dalrymple, as it enabled him to keep his force concentrated, and to draw supplies from the fleet—that with respect to the armistice concluded with General Kellerman, he positively denied that he was the negotiator; and although he certainly had signed it, yet he disclaimed all responsibility for its honour; that though he thought it expedient that the French should be allowed to evacuate Portugal, with all their baggage and arms, yet to some of the minor terms he could not agree, but most of the objections he made were overruled by General Sir Hew Dalrymple; that he was of opinion that the Russian fleet should not be included in a treaty with the French; but that any thing done with respect to them should be the subject of a distinct treaty, and with themselves, as they had acted a neutral part whilst in the Tagus, &c. He also further expressly stated that he was called by Sir Hew, out of another room, to sign the treaty, which he read throughout, and after making the observation that it was a most extraordinary one, he signed it, but without at all feeling himself responsible for its contents, and particularly condemning the want of stipulations for the 5,000 Spaniards confined in the hulks on the Tagus.

Burrard, to advance from his right with three brigades upon Torres Vedras, and with the other five brigades to follow the enemy, who had been defeated on our left.\* But it further appears that the situation of the army at this moment was—on the right, Major General Hill's brigade, which had not been engaged, on the height behind Vimiera, and at a distance of about three miles from those of Generals Ferguson and Anstruther on the left. In front of Vimiera, and in the centre, were the brigades of Anstruther and Fane, which had been warmly engaged. Brigadier General Bowes's and Ackland's brigades were advanced on the heights towards the left, in support of Generals Ferguson and Nightingale. Brigadier General Crawford's brigade was detached rather to the rear of the left, about half a mile from Major General Ferguson, to support the Portuguese troops making front in that direction.

Whilst our army, from the nature of the ground and of the service, was in this scattered direction, it appears further, according to report, that although the enemy was completely repulsed, still the degree of expedition with which a pursuit could have been commenced, considering the extended position of the British army at that time, and the precaution to be taken against the superior cavalry of the enemy, must have depended on various local circumstances only to be calculated by those on the spot.

This very circumstance of a superior cavalry retarding our advance, it was observed, would have allowed the enemy's infantry, without any degree of risk, to continue their retreat in the most rapid manner till they should arrive at any given and

\* It is here worthy of remark, that Colonel Torrens declared, on his examination, that immediately after the defeat of the French right column, and during its precipitate retreat, Sir Arthur Wellesley rode up to Sir Harry Burrard, and said, "Sir Harry, now is your time to advance upon the enemy; they are completely broken, and we may be in Lisbon in three days; a large body of our troops have not been in the action; let us move them from the right on the road to Torres Vedras, and I will follow the enemy with the left." To this Sir Harry replied, that he thought a great deal had been done, very much to the credit of the troops, and that he did not think it advisable to do more, or to quit the ground in pursuit.

advantageous point of rallying and formation; and it was added that Sir Arthur Wellesley in the affair of Roleia, when the enemy had not half the cavalry as on the day of Vimiera, did not pursue a more inconsiderable and beaten army with any marked advantage. It was also considered that, as the attack on the British centre had been repulsed long before that on the left had, the attacking corps, which was not pursued except by about 150 of the 20th dragoons, had time, above an hour, to reassemble, and to occupy such ground as might afterwards facilitate the retreat of their right, and also that the enemy were actually and visibly formed in one or more lines, at about three miles in front of our centre.

“From these and other fair military grounds, as allowed by Sir Arthur Wellesley; from those that occurred in Sir Harry Burrard’s first interview with Sir Arthur Wellesley; from the utmost certainty of the immediate arrival of Sir John Moore’s corps, which, if they had not stopped at Mondego Bay, would have been at Maccira on the 21st, (the day of the battle,) Sir Harry Burrard declined making any further pursuit that day, or ordering the army to march next morning early.”

It was further stated in the report, that Brigadier General Clinton and Colonel Murray concurred in this opinion; but it is evident Sir Arthur Wellesley did not agree with it, otherwise such concurrence would have been recorded.

Thus far speaks the report with respect to the inactivity of the British army, for some time at least, after the victory of Vimiera; then, as to the more important point of the convention, it goes on to state that when the proposed treaty (ratified by General Junot) of the 28th of August was brought by Captain Dalrymple on the 29th to head-quarters, at Ramalhal, all the lieutenant generals (Burrard, Moore, Hope, Frazer, Wellesley) were present, Lord Paget excepted, because not long previously summoned. “The proposed treaty was, however, formally discussed. Minutes of proposed alterations were taken by Sir Arthur Wellesley, as laid before the board, and the commander in chief of the forces has no reason to believe that Sir John Moore, or

any of the lieutenant generals that came with him, expressed any disapprobation of the state and terms of the negotiation."

This silence, however, of Sir Arthur Wellesley on that day, or his even taking minutes of proposed alterations, in order to *mend* the measure, certainly ought not to be brought forward as proofs of his having approved of it. That he might have considered it useless *then* to oppose it is not, indeed, unlikely; for, as matters *then* stood, it was no doubt the wisest measure to get rid of the French army as quick as possible, as long as that could be done without disgrace to the British arms: for the battle, the defeat, and the proposed pursuit on the part of Sir Arthur, had all taken place on the 21st, whilst this negotiation was only in train on the 29th, thus having allowed the French a whole week to strengthen themselves in their positions, and perhaps to have put it totally out of the power of the British army to dislodge them, except by a convention, in a space of time short of three months, and that perhaps accompanied with the total destruction of the city of Lisbon.

That Sir Arthur Wellesley did *then* make no objections is not at all extraordinary; and we have, therefore, only to add that, "The treaty, with the alterations proposed, were transmitted to Lieutenant Colonel Murray. It appears when the treaty, concluded by Lieutenant Colonel Murray on the 30th, was brought by him to Torres Vedras on the 31st for ratification, the lieutenant generals present were convened, and *Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent for*. Lord Paget, who was at a distance, did not come, *nor did Sir Arthur Wellesley*, his corps having marched that morning.

The board of inquiry, after what may be called a very full statement of the business in question, closed with paying high compliments to the various officers for their zeal, firmness, ardour, gallantry, &c. but it is something remarkable that the most important purposes for which they were assembled were not fulfilled, at least in the opinion of the commander in chief; for his royal highness, in a letter to the president, Sir David Dundas, observed that their *opinions* respecting the *conditions* of the ar-

mistice and convention had been altogether omitted ; and that he therefore thought it his duty to call their attention to these two principal points in this important case, and to desire that they would take the same again into their most serious consideration, and subjoin it to the opinion they had already given on the other points, whether, under all the circumstances that appeared in evidence before them, respecting the relative situation of the two armies, on the 23d of August, it was their opinion that an armistice was advisable ; and, if so, whether the terms were such as ought to have been agreed upon. The commander in chief also required them to consider whether it was proper to enter upon a convention, subsequent to the armistice, and after all the British forces were landed.

In consequence of this the board met again. The questions were put to each of the members ; some of whom approved the measures, whilst others disapproved of them, each party giving their reasons for their opinions ; and this difference was at length finally settled by a formal declaration of disapprobation on the part of the king, of both the armistice and convention, which, with reasons for it, was formally conveyed to Sir Hew Dalrymple.\*

\* During the public clamour on those events, the general indignation was much directed against the ministry, by the extraordinary circumstance of no less than three commanders in chief having been with the British army during the space of three days, a circumstance stated to have arisen from indecision on the part of government. But the state of the fact is extremely simple. Sir Hew Dalrymple, the Governor of Gibraltar, was, from the first, intended for the chief command ; but as the troops could only be sent out from different ports, and at different times, each commanding officer of each detachment would naturally take the command according to his seniority. It was not, therefore, intended that any officer should finally command in chief, except Sir Hew ; but it was both an unlucky, and a remarkable coincidence of circumstances that the arrival of those officers in a succession of seniority should have taken place at a moment so critical for British honour, and for Portuguese security.

## SECTION VI.

State of Spain at the close of 1808 and commencement of 1809—Supreme Central Junta formed—Duplicity of Bonaparte—Military operations of the French army—Surrender of Madrid to the French—Sir John Moore takes the command of the British army—Commencement of the British operations—March into Spain—Political and military operations—Various military anecdotes—Advance into Spain—Want of Spanish co-operation—Retreat determined on—Manœuvres of Bonaparte—Frustrated by Sir John Moore—Distresses of the army—Battle of Corunna—Fall, and anecdotes of Sir John Moore—Sir Arthur Wellesley—Conduct in parliament—Treaty with Spain—Sir Arthur supersedes Sir John Craddock in the command in the Peninsula—March towards the Douro—Passage of the Douro, and capture of Oporto—Pursuit of the French—Its consequences—Junction of the allied armies—March towards Talavera—Battle of Talavera—Its consequences—Subsequent retreat—General view of occurrences in Spain—Sir Arthur Wellesley elevated to the peerage as **VISCOUNT WELLINGTON**—Close of the year 1809.

WHILE the army of France lay inactive on the Ebro and the passes into the mountainous province of Biscay, and whilst Napoleon was engaged in his Russian and German campaigns, the provincial juntas in Spain had leisure to resolve themselves, during part of 1808, into one grand, supreme central junta.

Their intentions, as expressed in a proclamation, were to ratify the laws of religion, to *restore* or to *avenge* the monarchy, to re-establish the fundamental laws of the kingdom upon a basis consonant with civil liberty, to draw more closely the ties connecting them with their colonies by a liberal policy; and, in short, to stimulate and reward activity, industry, talents, and virtue, in all ranks of life.

Being now acknowledged by all the regularly constituted authorities, they proceeded to form the various branches of administration; to establish a system of finance; to confiscate the estates of traitors, and to collect the old established taxes, but without laying any additional burdens upon the people: and the army of Dupont having about this time surrendered, they arranged every thing respecting it, and endeavoured, as much as was in their power, to furnish means for the British army to pro-

ceed into Spain after the convention of Cintra, and the freeing of Portugal from a foreign force.

At this period the whole Spanish force, including the liberated army of Romana, and those who had been set free in the Tagus, was divided into three separate commands, but about the latter end of October, disposed so as to form one grand army. The eastern wing, amounting to about 20,000, was under the command of General Joseph Palafox; the northwestern, under the command of General Blake, amounted to 55,000; and the centre, under General Castanos, consisted of 65,000 men. Besides these, there was a small army in Catalonia, and another in Estremadura; and the whole was under the supreme command of Castanos; to which must be added the force under Sir John Moore, now ready to march from Lisbon, and the troops expected under Sir David Baird, &c.

With respect to the French army in Spain, their positions had been but little altered from those of the summer. Their right was to the ocean, the left on Arragon, and the front towards the Ebro, strengthened lately by reinforcements from France, and particularly by 160,000 conscripts, hastily collected by Bonaparte; who, having made his arrangements at home, quitted Paris for Spain, leaving the British ambassador to dispute about a basis for peace, whilst he himself was hotly pursuing his new war. He proceeded rapidly for Bayonne; and, on the 3d of November, with a reinforcement of 12,000 men, joined his brother Joseph at Vittoria.

The plan of the Spaniards at this precise moment was, with the right and left wings of their grand army to turn the flanks of the French force, whilst Castanos should make a vigorous attack upon, and break through, their centre. This seemingly judicious design was accordingly acted upon; and Castanos, with the central army, crossed the Ebro at three different points, the French only making a show of resistance; nor did they prevent him from pushing forward detachments, and taking possession of Lerin, Viana, Capparoso, and others of their own posts, on the left bank, or north side of the Ebro. He was even allowed to



advance to Pampeluna, whilst the French only manœuvred so as to hide their own intentions. In fact, in pursuance of this deep laid design, Marshal Mouncey had orders to advance with the left wing of the French army along the banks of that river, not to oppose the passage, but, by presenting a weak front, to decoy Castanos to cross it; nor did the stratagem fail of success, (though it is possible Castanos would have crossed without it,) for it threw Castanos off his guard, when Marshal Ney, with his division, passing the line of the Ebro, and dashing forward with great celerity, in separate columns, took the Spanish posts of Legrono and Calahorra, threw the whole country into alarm and confusion, and cut off the communication between the two armies of Blake and Castanos.

The first operations of the French were now directed against Blake's army, which was successively driven from post to post during the latter end of October and the beginning of November as far as Espinosa, where, having taken up a strong position, this, the Gallician army, was forced to make a stand in order to save its magazines and artillery, but in vain; for, after a brave resistance of two days, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation.

During this conflict at Espinosa, a detachment was sent against the last retreat of the Gallician army, Reynosa, where a considerable force was established. At break of day on the 11th of November they were suddenly attacked on their right, left, and centre. They were forced to consult their safety by flight; throwing away their arms and colours, and abandoning their artillery. After this unfortunate business, General Blake, with the remains of his broken army, took refuge in Asturias, whilst what remained of the corps of Romana, which had formed a part of this Gallician army, fled into the northern parts of that province. The Spaniards, however, were so closely pursued by Marshal Soult, that the van of the army entered St. Andero on the 16th of November, forcing the bishop of that place to take refuge on board an English frigate. Before the 23d of November the French had routed and dispersed the armies of the

north of Spain, and also that of Estremadura, under the command of the young Count of Belvidere, who, having been insidiously permitted to proceed as far as Burgos, and to occupy it with his army, was then attacked by superior numbers, his army routed after a gallant resistance of twelve hours, and almost annihilated; he himself, with the small remains, flying to Lerma, and from thence to Arauda.

The invaders, thus at liberty, directed their whole force against Castanos; and, on the 23d of November, bringing him to action at Tudela, gave him a signal defeat, thereby opening the road to Madrid; on which route, on the 29th of November, a force under the command of General Victor took possession of a most difficult pass in the Sierra Morena, called the Puerto, though remarkably well fortified, and defended by 13,000 Spaniards.

On the 1st of December advanced parties of the French appeared before Madrid, at which period the inhabitants were busily employed in raising pallisades, and constructing redoubts, expressing a determined spirit of resistance. The French were beaten back twice; but, on the third attempt, they succeeded in getting possession of the gate of Alcala, and also of the Retiro, the reduction of which place, however, cost them very dear, their loss amounting to upwards of 1,000 killed and wounded. The supreme junta then hoisted a white flag as a token of submission; but the people pulled it down, and persisted in their intention of defending the city: unfortunately, however, for want of leaders, their spirit of enthusiasm began to evaporate; and when they found that the French were fortifying themselves in the Retiro, which completely commands Madrid, they began to retire to their respective houses.

On the 4th, the city was given up.

Such was the state of affairs in Spain, previous to the events connected with Sir John Moore's army, which we shall now briefly trace.

To illustrate the liberal and patriotic spirit of this gallant general, it is sufficient to say that on his arrival in Portugal,

which took place after the battle of Vimiera, he was warm in his praises of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and absolutely declared to Sir Hew Dalrymple, that he wished to waive all pretensions derived from his seniority ; and that as Sir Arthur had done so much, it was fair he should take the lead in the operations against Lisbon, and if the good of the service required it, he would execute any part that was allotted to him, without interfering with Sir Arthur's orders.

Sir Arthur Wellesley having applied for leave of absence to return to England, after the convention, and Sir Hew Dalrymple being recalled, the command devolved on Sir Harry Burrard, who very soon requested to resign ; when the ministry at home judged it best to invest Sir John with the command ; and on the 6th of October, 1808, he received despatches from London with this appointment. Previous to this, it had been intended to send a British force into Galicia ; but the transports being employed in carrying Junot's army to France, means had been wanting. Now, however, the plan was resumed : Sir John Moore had orders to send the cavalry by land, and a discretionary power to send the infantry and artillery by such mode of conveyance as was most rapid and practicable.

At the same time he was informed that 15,000 men, under General Sir David Baird, were to join him from Corunna.

Finding, on inquiry, that the march of the expected force under Sir David Baird would fully occupy all military means at Corunna, Sir John gave up all thoughts of sending any part of his force by sea ; and the Spanish government having deputed Colonel Lopez, an officer in their service, and one well acquainted with the country, with its roads and resources, to assist the British army on its march, to establish magazines, and to make all the necessary arrangements with Sir John Moore, he not only confirmed the intelligence respecting Corunna, but also pressed Sir John, in the name of the Junta, to march by land ; assuring him that if he went by sea, one half of the army would never be able to proceed from Corunna, through want of necessaries.

The difficulties Sir John met with, even in the outset, were

great in the extreme. He found the Portuguese entirely ignorant of the state of the roads even in their own country, though they all agreed that it was impossible to transport artillery over the mountains which form the northern boundary of Portugal; intelligence confirmed by British officers who had been sent on a tour of inspection: so that as equipments could not be procured at Corunna, nor food on the road by Elvas, nor artillery conveyed by Almeida, he was absolutely forced to divide his army, part of the artillery going with the cavalry through Spain, the remainder of the three divisions proceeding by different routes through Portugal. The different regiments of each division followed each other in succession to facilitate the march; Sir John intending that the whole of the troops coming from Portugal should unite at Salamanca, and that Sir David Baird and General Hope should either join there or at Valladolid: and the several divisions being moved off, Sir John Moore left Lisbon on the 27th of October, just as the grand Spanish armies, as already observed, were commencing their plan of operations against the French army north of the Ebro.

In passing through the Portuguese territory, the troops behaved with such order and regularity as to form a striking contrast to the cruelty and rapine of the French armies. The people in consequence were civil, but still there were considerable difficulties in finding a sufficient supply of provisions for such an army. There was also a great want of money, producing many inconveniences; for it had been erroneously supposed that government bills would have been accepted; and at Guada, even the chief magistrates refused to procure provisions without regular payments, whilst the peasantry, as indeed might naturally be expected, refused any dealings with paper money: and it is stated that although Sir John Moore was usually entertained with politeness at the houses of the nobility, and saw little appearance of a French party, yet he was surprised to observe the slight interest which the Portuguese took in public affairs; they were indeed in general well inclined, but very lukewarm.

It is no doubt, then, that the Spaniards at this moment had

perhaps too great confidence in their own strength, and judged too hastily of the possible powers and exertions of their enemies; but it is stated that the correspondence which Sir John Moore held with men of candour and discernment, and who resided upon the scene of action, tended to confirm him more and more in his conviction, that little or nothing was to be expected from the exertions of the Spaniards themselves. He appears, indeed, to have advanced in direct opposition to his own judgment; but it may still be a question, whether his final want of success in his advance may not in some degree have proceeded from his own *despondency*, which is so strongly marked in many of his letters, and which, particularly in his subsequent retreat, may have produced those effects which his known gallantry and undaunted spirit would otherwise have prevented.

The difficulties of the march still increased; and, notwithstanding the situation of affairs, it appeared impossible to correct the dilatoriness of the Spanish administration; so that when Sir David Baird arrived at Corunna, on the 13th of October, the Gallician Junta actually refused permission for the landing of the troops! The astonishment of Sir David at this extraordinary circumstance may easily be conceived; he had, however, no alternative, but to send off expresses to Madrid and Lisbon; though he at last obtained leave to disembark, but with such a cold reception, and such a total absence of all exertion in preparing his equipments, that he actually wrote to Sir John Moore to inquire whether the Supreme Junta had yet given permission for British troops to be admitted into Spain.

In the early part of November Sir John Moore, by rapid marches, had reached Atalaia: in fact, he found greater facilities than he had expected; for, though the roads were certainly very bad, still were they practicable for artillery; though such was the extreme ignorance of the Portuguese, that instead of procuring any of them for guides, British officers were obliged, from station to station, to reconnoitre, and actually to trace out the route. The previous misinformation was also the more to be regretted; as otherwise, General Hope's division might very

well have been brought by this route along with the rest of the army.

The troops now reached Almeida by the 8th of November; and though it rained incessantly, they marched on cheerfully in spite of the weather, and behaved extremely well, notwithstanding the inhospitality of the country they were marching through. The appearance of the country, however, and the manners of the people, improved greatly on first crossing the boundary line between Portugal and Spain; for the advantage was greatly in favour of the latter; particularly at Ciudad Rodrigo, where the army was received with shouts of "Viva los Ingleses!"

On the 13th of November Sir John Moore arrived with the advanced guard of his army at Salamanca; and there he halted, intending to assemble all the troops coming from Portugal, before he should push further into Spain; a plan more particularly necessary, as he had just then got intelligence of the fate of the army of Estremadura, already mentioned.

Sir John had only been two days at Salamanca when he was informed by an express from the governor of the province, General Pignatelli, that the French army had advanced and taken possession of Valladolid, which is only twenty leagues from Salamanca. At this period, Sir John was only with his advanced corps, in an open town, three marches from the French army, without even a Spanish piquet to cover his front, although he had been promised that his march into Spain should be covered by a force of sixty or seventy thousand men; and his own force consisted of only three brigades of infantry, without a single gun, as the remainder were moving up in succession, but could not be expected under less than ten days.

Decisive measures were instantly necessary; for if the French advanced in force, he had no option but to fall back on Ciudad Rodrigo; the country in which vicinity being very poor, could not long afford subsistence for the troops; and if he should even retreat into Portugal, his situation would scarcely be improved.

He, therefore, assembled the Junta of Salamanca, and ex-

plained to them the situation of affairs, calling on them to make such sacrifices as the occasion required, and stating the necessity of his having carts and mules, should it be necessary to retire. All this was listened to with calm acquiescence, and the whole party seemed to hear of the generous intentions of the British, and of the destructive ravages of the French, with equal indifference. He, therefore, found himself forced to depend on his own resources, and sent orders to Generals Baird and Hope to concentrate their divisions, to advance with all speed to Salamanca, but to be on their guard upon their march.

At this crisis Mr. Frere had arrived as minister plenipotentiary from Great Britain, and Mr. Moore laments that he unfortunately had acquired all his notions of Spanish patriotism and politics in London, and that his prepossessions were much too strong to be effaced by the observations of his predecessors, or even to be altered by the most opposing facts. It must, however, be observed, that if Mr. Frere was too sanguine in his hopes, there were many others who were too despondent in an observation fully justified by subsequent events, and which may be considered as in some measure illustrated by a letter of Mr. Frere's of the 13th of November, to Sir John Moore, in which he says, "the fixed spirit of resistance, which, without calculation of danger or of means, seems to have rooted itself in the minds of the people, appears superior to any reverse;" thus fully exemplifying what in some measure may be applied to their subsequent conduct.\*

Sir David Baird did not reach Astorga until the 19th of Novem-

\* A curious circumstance mentioned in Sir John Moore's own journal, and highly illustrative of the honour and integrity of the Spanish character, deserves notice here.

"Lord Proby was at Tordesillas reconnoitring, when a patrol of French cavalry came into the town. They stayed some time. Every man in the town knew that Proby was there, for he had been two days among them; yet not a man betrayed him; and when the cavalry left the place, and his lordship came into the street, they all testified their satisfaction, and declared that, though they had no arms, they would have died rather than have allowed him to be taken.

ber, and then only with part of his infantry, having had to encounter many deficiencies, and to struggle with difficulties entirely new to him, meeting with a variety of obstacles in his progress, and receiving but little aid from the Spaniards in overcoming them. From Astorga Sir David thought it imprudent to advance; and, in an official letter, he said, "We have no kind of support to expect from the Spaniards, who are completely dispersed and driven from the field; and if I were to move forward the infantry I have at present here, I should necessarily expose myself to be beaten in detail, without a chance of being able to oppose any effectual resistance."

Lieutenant General Hope, who had proceeded by the Elvas road, had already done wonders; for, notwithstanding his toilsome march, he, by indefatigable exertions, and good arrangements, had provided for the subsistence of the corps under his command, and had brought them into the vicinity of Madrid. Yet, upon the whole, the situation of affairs in Spain was becoming evidently more and more critical; and every account sent to Sir John Moore, by those whom he considered as men of sound judgment, was filled with statements of the Spanish government having most unwisely concealed their desperate situation from their ally.

The defeat of Castanos's army we have already mentioned; the intelligence of which arrived at Salamanca on the 28th of November, and totally darkened the aspect of affairs. Whilst this army remained, there still appeared to Sir John Moore a hope of resistance in the north of Spain; but now he gave up all expectations of it, considering it evident that if Bonaparte chose, as might be expected, to push forward his advanced corps upon him, his junction with General Hope would be very doubtful, and that with Sir David Baird impossible.

For these reasons, he at once took the resolution of withdrawing the army from Galicia and Leon, and of assembling it upon the banks of the Tagus; the proposed advantages of which measures were, that the whole British force would be collected,



and united with upwards of 10,000 men more, who were left in Portugal.

In the mean time he thought it possible that all the scattered corps of the Spanish army might fall back and concentrate, and there receive such new levies as might be raised in the southern provinces; which, when assembled, might still form an army capable of making a stand, and to whose aid the British might then move forward in a formidable body. He considered, that if the Spaniards had constancy to hold out, and fortitude to continue the contest, an opportunity would still be afforded them; for in the south all their energies might be put forth, and effectual assistance afforded them by the British army; or should their armies even be repelled in these efforts, still secure retreats were afforded them in the protection of Cadiz and Gibraltar. Indeed, it appears from all his correspondence that it had always been a favourite plan of Sir John Moore to commence and carry on the military operations from the south of Spain.

Sir John now took the resolution of retreating without waiting for any further communications from the British ambassador, and the fate of Castanos convinced him that the situation of his army admitted of no delay.

He then assembled the general officers, and showed them the intelligence he had received, and the plan he had adopted. He told them "that he had not called them together to request their counsel, or to induce them to commit themselves by giving any opinion upon the subject. He took the responsibility entirely upon himself; and he only required that they would immediately prepare for carrying it into effect."

It was at this period that the insidious conduct of Morla, in attempting to persuade Sir John Moore to advance to Madrid whilst he himself was in treaty with the enemy, took place; and such was the art of the traitor that he evidently was successful in some measure, even in imposing on Mr. Frere, our ambassador, though on the spot, or nearly so, being then at Talavera, afterwards rendered so famous by the British arms. So much so, indeed, that Mr. Frere sent a very pressing letter by Colonel Char-

nally, an emigrant officer in our service, who had just left Madrid, and whose verbal representations to Sir John Moore were so highly descriptive of the spirit of the inhabitants of that capital, that, on the 5th of December, he actually was convinced that a great and unexpected improvement in the public affairs had taken place; and he, therefore, judged that he ought not to pursue his plan of retreat, and immediately abandoned his intention, resolving to support Madrid to the utmost of his power. He, therefore, wrote to Sir David Baird to return bag and baggage to Astorga, he having already commenced his preconceived retreat; and at this moment General Hope, by means of rapid marches, had brought his division close to Salamanca. The position of the British army had, by this means, become much more secure; for Sir John had now a complete though small corps, with cavalry and artillery; whilst, by a movement to the left, his junction with Sir David Baird was certain.

Being desirous of obtaining the coöperation of the only Spanish corps within reach, he wrote immediately to the Marquis of Romana, who was at Leon, expressing his wish to unite with him, and to take such operations as they might judge best for the support of Madrid, and the defeat of the enemy.

But the knowledge of the absolute submission of the capital now completely deranged the proposed plan of operations, and retreat from Salamanca was again determined on, particularly as there was reason to believe that the effective French force then in Spain actually amounted to 177,000 men, whilst the whole British force was no more than 18,416 who had marched from Portugal, and 9,550 who had followed Sir David Baird from Corunna, making in the whole 25,631 infantry and 2,450 cavalry; their artillery, indeed, was numerous, but of a very small calibre; for, including a brigade of three pounders, it amounted to fifty guns.

Sir John Moore, now joined by General Hope's division, was anxious to unite with Sir David Baird, and to endeavour to prosecute the war in the north of Spain, instead of retiring upon the Tagus.

In this crisis, his brother says, and we are disposed to give him full credit, that Sir John knew that the passes of Somosierra and Guadarama were possessed by the French, and that an attempt to force them would be destructive; yet if he continued where he was, or only guarded the frontiers of Galicia, every thing valuable in Spain would be quickly subdued. The first of these, therefore, he rejected as rash, and the other as futile; but he formed *and executed* a plan for stopping the progress of the French, and relieving Spain, which has been highly admired by masters in the art of war. "This will be gradually developed." But as he found that the Spanish generals who had been deputed to him were quite incapable of discussing a plan, or giving him any advice, he thought it imprudent to confide his intentions to them. He considered it most advisable to trust no one with his designs, except the government, and the generals commanding armies, who were to coöperate with him.

Yet one of those "incapable" generals wrote to him on the 7th of December to say, "For if, instead of uniting the two divisions of your army with the army of the Marquis of Romana at Zamora, or some other point that may impose upon the enemy, you persist in putting your design in execution, you will immediately occasion the destruction of Spain, and perhaps your excellency will be *under the necessity of embarking for England.*"

That Sir John Moore, however, did intend to connect himself with the Marquis of Romana, is evident from his letter to that officer, as well as from his subsequent instructions to Sir David Baird. In the morning of the 8th Sir John Moore received intelligence from the gallant Colonel (now Sir Thomas) Graham, that the enemy had got possession of the capital, but that the junta concealed the event as much as possible, completely softening down the principal fact, and making it appear that Madrid had, instead of surrendering, only entered into a kind of armistice with the enemy. This Sir John neither absolutely believed, nor did he totally discredit it, but again considered himself com-

pelled to make every effort in his power for the relief of the capital, and accordingly advanced from Salamanca. The movement was made from the left flank by brigades, towards the Douro. The reserve and General Beresford's brigades were marched to Toro, there to unite with the cavalry under Lord Paget, whilst Sir John Moore moved with the remaining divisions towards Tordesillas. Sir David Baird was directed to push on his brigades to Benavente ; and, the whole being united, it was proposed to proceed to Valladolid, with the view of threatening the communication between Madrid and the French territory.

Even on the 12th of December, Sir John was still ignorant of the *absolute* submission of Madrid, and had hopes that his movements might be of use towards the saving of that city : and on the very same day Brigadier General Stewart, whilst moving from Arevolo with the 18th and German dragoons, having got information that a party of French cavalry and infantry had got possession of a village called Rueda, he attacked it in the night by surprise, with a party of the 18th light dragoons, and killed or took prisoners almost the whole of the detachment. This was the first encounter of the French and British in Spain; and the march of the British had been so well concealed that the French were astonished to find that there were any English troops there; the prisoners declaring that it was universally believed they had retreated.

The intelligence soon after received, though unfavourable as to Madrid, still afforded some consolation to Sir John, in finding that Bonaparte believed he was retreating; but as it was evident that Soult's corps was much stronger than had been represented, he considered it no longer advisable to march to Valladolid, lest Sir David Baird should be attacked in forming his junction, but thought it preferable to move to Toro, thus commencing that retreat which afterwards ended so unfortunately for the general cause, though certainly without diminishing the lustre of the British arms.

Sir John Moore, however, still had hopes of being able to meet with Soult in his march towards Sir David Baird, and that, if possible, before he could receive any reinforcements, and before any French corps should be pushed forward on his right flank to endanger his retreat.

To pursue Sir John through the whole detail of his manœuvres is not exactly part of our plan; it is sufficient to say, that in his further advance, he was checked by the retreat of Romana, and by the little chance of any further Spanish coöperation, although his own force amounted to 23,000 infantry, and upwards of 2,000 cavalry.

Romana's force was, however, at length brought so forward as to induce Sir John to direct a movement on their part in the latter end of December, whilst he should make a proposed attack on the enemy; Soult having his force of 18,000 men concentrated behind the river Carrion, and the head columns of Junot's corps being between Vittoria and Burgos. But an influx of intelligence soon convinced Sir John that the French reinforcements were advancing rapidly, and that Bonaparte was fully prepared: accordingly the forward march of the troops was instantly countermanded. Sir John, therefore, preparing for the danger, calculated the time; but, to frustrate the plan, was forced to continue his retreat, which he was silently, but busily, occupied in preparing for on the 24th of December, when the whole disposable force of the French army, forming an irregular crescent, was marching with rapid steps to surround his army. To accomplish this favourite object, says Sir John's brother, Bonaparte stopt his victorious career in the south, where there was nothing capable of resisting him. Lisbon and Cadiz would have yielded as easily as Madrid, and those must be sanguine indeed, who can believe that any further resistance would have been made in Spain. He then proceeds to observe, that the bold measures adopted by Sir John Moore arrested the immediate subjugation of the country; for though he had intelligence sufficient to induce him to retire, still he had not learned the whole amount of the force that was marching against him, and was resolved not

to be alarmed into a false step, nor retreat one step further than was absolutely necessary, as he wished to defend the Gallicias, if possible.

Several skirmishes took place during the early part of the retreat, and on the 27th the rear guard crossed the Estar, and blew up the bridge.

The retreat seemed now a determined measure; but we shall waive all observations on it, only observing, that whenever the British army stopped, or whenever there was a slight affair of detachments, their conduct was always highly meritorious, though it appears from Sir John Moore's general orders, that there were some individual cases which required notice.\*

When Bonaparte had assembled his whole army at Astorga, to the amount of 70,000 men, and perceived, by the masterly arrangements of Sir John Moore, that it was no longer possible to intercept him, he desisted from his personal pursuit, and contented himself with detaching three marshals, with as many divisions, to follow the British closely, and to destroy them either before, or during their embarkation at Corunna, to which place Sir John Moore judged it most prudent to proceed. It is an unpleasant task to enter much further into this unfortunate series of

\* During this retreat a gallant achievement of a small party of cavalry deserves particular notice. It appears that the British in their retreat over a river had blown up the bridge; but the French cavalry discovered a ford above it, where they crossed. They then formed, and were nearly double the number that could be brought against them. Our brave countrymen rejoiced at the sight, and forgot the disparity of numbers. They advanced smartly upon the enemy, who stood to receive them; and at a short distance fired upon the British. GENERAL STEWART, who commanded, then advanced beyond his line, and gave the words "Draw!"—"Charge!" The British rushed on; the French received them firmly; and for a quarter of an hour the clash of sabres rung like a peal of bells. General Stewart was opposed to GENERAL LE FEBVRE, whom he made prisoner. Several other French officers also were taken, and a great many men fell on both sides. The proud imperial guard (the officers of which declared they had never before been beaten) gave way before an inferior number of British dragoons, and retreated across the ford. At this moment, three cannon were brought to bear upon them, and the broad river was discoloured with blood.

halting and retreating, particularly as it has been so accurately detailed in Mr. Moore's narrative of the campaign. In fact, in the early part of January, 1809, the enemy pressed on so hard that the rear guard was almost always engaged; and in such circumstances it was impossible to suffer any thing to retard the march of the columns; of course, whatever could not keep up was destroyed. We are sorry to say that Sir John Moore's general orders bespeak a system of insubordination which we scarcely thought possible in a British army under any circumstances; but we forbear all comment; nor will we disturb the ashes of the gallant dead.

From day to day the same sufferings and the same circumstances occurred, until the arrival of the army before Corunna, after traversing 250 miles of country, through mountains, defiles, and rivers, and constantly in contact with a superior pursuing enemy: but, though often engaged, even their rear guard was never beaten, nor thrown into confusion, but was victorious in every encounter.

Every thing was now prepared for embarkation from Corunna in preference to Vigo; but it was soon discovered that the French army would not permit it to take place without an attack, in hopes of fulfilling their boast of driving the English into the sea.

About one in the afternoon of the 16th of January, the enemy, who had on the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at that extremity of the strong and commanding position, which, on the morning of the 16th, he had taken in the immediate front of the British army.

This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by a rapid and determined attack upon Sir David Baird's division, which occupied the right of the British. This first effort of the enemy was met by Sir John Moore, and by Sir David Baird, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Major General Lord William Bentinck.

The village on the right now became an object of most obstinate contest; Sir David Baird here received a severe wound, which deprived the army of his services; and soon after Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon shot.

The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had just sustained, were not dismayed; but, by the most determined bravery, not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those actually engaged.

The enemy finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the British position, endeavoured, by superior numbers, to turn it; but a judicious and well timed movement, which was made by Major General Paget with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, accompanied by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The major general, having pushed forward a rifle corps, the 95th, and the first battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him; and, in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of his position; which circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant General Frazer's division, (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line,) induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter.

These efforts, however, were but the more forcibly directed towards the centre; where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major General Manningham, forming the left of Sir David Baird's division, and a part of that under Major General Leith, forming the right of the division under Lieutenant General Hope.

Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon the British piquets, which, however, in general, maintained their ground. Finding his efforts thus unavailing upon the right and centre, he now seemed determined to make the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in gaining possession of a village through which the great road to Madrid



passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line.

From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion of the 14th, under Lieutenant Colonel Nichols; so that, before five in the evening, the British had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon that position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and had occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action, whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were reassembled on the ground they occupied in the morning, and the piquets and advanced posts resumed their original stations.

Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over the enemy, who, from his numbers and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory, General Hope, on reviewing all circumstances, did not conceive that he should be warranted in departing from what he knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late gallant commander in chief, to withdraw the army in the evening of the 16th for embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his orders, and even, in fact, far advanced at the commencement of the action.\*

\* The personal exertions of the gallant Moore himself deserve due notice. The French artillery plunged from the heights, and the two hostile lines of infantry mutually advanced beneath a shower of balls, yet for some time they were still separated from each other by stone walls and hedges, which intersected the ground. As they closed, it was perceived that the French line extended beyond the right flank of the British; and a body of the enemy were observed moving up the valley to turn it. An order was instantly given, and the half of the 4th regiment, which formed this flank, fell back, refusing their right, and making an obtuse angle with the other half. In this position they commenced a heavy flanking fire; and Sir John Moore, watching the manœuvre, called out to them, that was exactly what he wanted to be done.

He then rode up to the 50th regiment, commanded by Majors Napier and

Orders were, therefore, given for the troops to quit their position about ten at night, which was done with a degree of order much to their credit. The whole of the artillery that remained unembarked having been withdrawn, the troops followed in the

Stanhope, who got over an enclosure in their front, and charged most gallantly. The general, ever an admirer of valour, exclaimed, "Well done the fiftieth! well done my majors!"—using this expression in allusion to his having recommended them both to the rank they held, entertaining in particular a sincere friendship for the honourable Major Stanhope, second son of Earl Stanhope, and nephew to the late Mr. Pitt. This gallant regiment, so bravely led, soon drove the enemy out of the village of Flvina, with great slaughter; but in the conflict Major Napier, advancing too far, was wounded and taken prisoner, and Major Stanhope unfortunately received a mortal wound.

Sir John now proceeded to the 4<sup>th</sup>, addressing them in these words: "Highlanders, remember Egypt!"—They rushed on, driving the French before them till they were stopped by a wall. Sir John accompanied them in the charge, and told the soldiers that he was well pleased with their conduct. He then sent Captain Hardinge to order up a battalion of guards to the left flank of the Highlanders; upon which the officer commanding the light company conceived that as their ammunition was nearly expended, they were to be relieved by the guards, and began to fall back; but Sir John, discovering the mistake, said to them, "My brave lads, join your comrades; ammunition is coming, and you have your bayonets." They instantly obeyed, and all moved forward.

Captain Hardinge now returned, to report that the guards were advancing. While he was speaking, and pointing out the situation of the battalion, a hot fire was kept up, and the enemy's artillery played incessantly upon the spot. Sir John Moore was too conspicuous. A cannon ball struck his left shoulder, and beat him to the ground.

He raised himself, and sat up with an unaltered countenance, looking intently at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Hardinge threw himself from his horse, and took him by the hand; then, observing his anxiety, he told him the 4<sup>th</sup> were advancing: upon which his countenance immediately brightened. His friend, Colonel Graham, now dismounted to assist him; and, from the composure of his features, entertained hopes that he was not even wounded; but observing the horrid laceration, and effusion of blood, he rode off for surgeons.

The general was now carried from the field of battle in a blanket, by a sergeant of the 4<sup>th</sup> and some soldiers. On his way, knowing of Sir David Baird being wounded, he ordered captain Hardinge to report his own wound to General Hope, who then assumed the command.

order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation, in the town and neighbourhood of Corunna. The piquets remained at their posts until five in the morning of the

The tidings of this unfortunate disaster were carried to Sir David Baird when the surgeons were dressing his shattered arm. He instantly commanded them to desist, and to run to attend Sir John Moore; but when they arrived and offered their assistance, he coolly said, "You can be of no service to me; go to the soldiers to whom you may be useful."

As the soldiers were carrying him slowly along, he made them turn him round frequently to view the field of battle, and to listen to the firing; and was well pleased when the sound grew fainter. At this period a spring wagon, bearing Colonel Wynch wounded from the battle, came up. The colonel asked "Who was in the blanket?" and being told it was Sir John Moore, he wished him to be placed in the wagon: but the general asking one of the Highlanders whether he thought the wagon or the blanket best, the honest fellow answered that the blanket would not shake him so much, as he and the other soldiers could keep the step and carry him easy. Sir John said, "I think so too," and thus they proceeded with him to his lodgings, the soldiers shedding tears as they went. In carrying him through the passage of the house, he saw his faithful servant Francois, who was stunned at the spectacle; but Sir John said to him, smiling. "My friend, this is nothing."

The remaining incidents of his gallant life we may draw from a sketch written by his most intimate friend, Colonel Anderson, who drew up an account the following morning, stating—

"I met the general in the evening of the 16th, bringing in a blanket and easches. He knew me immediately, though it was almost dark, squeezed me by the hand, and said, *Anderson, don't leave me.* He spoke to the surgeons on their examining his wound, but was in such pain he could say but little.

"After some time he seemed very anxious to speak to me, and at intervals got out as follows—*Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die this way!* He then asked, *Are the French beaten?* which he repeated to every one he knew, as they came in. *I hope the people of England will be satisfied!—I hope my country will do me justice!*—*Anderson—you will see my friends as soon as you can—tell them—every thing—say to my mother—*here his voice quite failed, and he was evidently agitated—*Hope—Hope—I have much to say to him—but—cannot get it out—are Colonel Graham—and all my aids-de-camp well?* (Here a private sign was made by Colonel Anderson not to inform him of Captain Burrard, son of Sir Harry, one of his aids-de-camp, who was wounded in the action, and died two days afterwards)—*I have made my will, and have remembered my servants—Colborne has my will and all my papers*

"Major Colborne then came into the room. He asked the major if the French were beaten—*It's a great satisfaction for me to know we have beaten*

17th, when they were also withdrawn with similar orders; and without the enemy having discovered the movement.

By the unremitting exertions of the navy, and in consequence of the judicious arrangements made by the officers directing the transport service, the whole were embarked with a degree of expedition which has seldom been equalled; and, with the exception of the brigades under Major Generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was afloat before daylight. The brigade of Major General Beresford, which was alternately to form the rear guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna; that under Major General Hill was stationed in reserve in the promontory in rear of the town. The French pushed their light troops towards the town soon after

*the French—Is Percet in the room?*—On being informed that he was not—added—*I feel myself so strong—I fear I shall be long dying--* On being told that Captains Perry and Stanhope, third son of the earl were in the room, he spoke to both—after some interval, said, ‘Stanhope, remember me to your sister!’—he then pressed Colonel Anderson’s hand close to his body, and in a few moments expired without a struggle!”

“From a sentiment of veneration,” adds his brother, “that has been felt in every age, the corpse of a man who has excited admiration cannot be neglected as common clay. This impression leads mankind sometimes to treat an inanimate body with peculiar respect; and even to bestow upon it unfelt honours. This was now the subject of deliberation among the military friends of Sir John Moore who had survived the engagement, when Colonel Anderson informed them that he had heard the general repeatedly declare, that if he was killed in battle, he wished to be buried where he had fallen. General Hope and Colonel Graham immediately acceded to his suggestion; and it was determined that the body should be interred in the rampart of the citadel of Corunna.

“At twelve at night his remains were accordingly carried to the spot, by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and his aids-de-camp, and deposited, until a grave was dug by a party of the 9th regiment. No coffin could be procured, and the body, which was not undressed, was wrapt up by his sorrowful friends, in a military cloak and blankets. Towards eight in the morning some firing was heard, when, lest a serious attack should be made, and prevent the last duties being performed the officers of his family bore the body to the grave, the funeral service was read by the chaplain, when it was laid in its cold and silent, yet honourable bed!”

eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th; and shortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which command the harbour; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehension that the rear guard would be forced, and the disposition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major General Hill's brigade was commenced and completed by three o'clock in the afternoon.

Major General Beresford, with that zeal and activity so well known to be his, having fully explained, to the satisfaction of the Spanish governor, the nature of our movement, and having made every previous arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town soon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that had not been previously moved, embarked before one in the morning.

We now proceed to investigate the occurrences connected with the subject of our biography, after his arrival in England; and the close of the proceedings on the Cintra convention.

On the 25th of January, the house of commons having proceeded to confer thanks on the officers who survived the battle of Corunna, and to vote a monument in St. Paul's to the gallant Moore, Lord Castlereagh then called on the house to confer the same honour of thanks on Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the other conquerors of Vimiera. The noble lord, after expatiating upon the services of this distinguished officer, and the bravery of his followers, alluded to the superior numbers of the enemy engaged upon this occasion; and concluded with expressing his opinion, that the thanks of that house had never been called for by more transcendent merit. To this Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, for the purpose of introducing the name of Sir Harry Burrard; but, finding the sense of the house decidedly against him, withdrew his amendment; and the original notice was carried, with only *one* dissenting voice: to which were added thanks to the various officers, as well as to the non-commissioned officers and privates.

On a subsequent motion in parliament, respecting the campaign in Portugal, Sir Arthur explained his views, and motives

of action, throughout the whole expedition; which were, to engage the enemy as near to Lisbon as possible, and to have followed up his advantage, exactly as he had proposed to Sir Harry Burrard and to Sir Hew Dalrymple: and he again added that if the enemy had been vigorously followed after the battle of Vimiera, there would have been no reason for concluding a convention.

Sir Arthur on his return had immediately resumed his parliamentary duties as well as his official ones, in the exercise of the latter of which, on the 6th of February, he obtained leave to bring in two bills; one to enable the bishops of Ireland and the commander of the forces in that country to frank letters; and the other to amend and consolidate the various laws relating to the Irish militia.

After this Mr. Whitbread, at some length, made a promised motion respecting the chief secretaryship of Ireland being held by Sir Arthur during his military absence; and concluded by moving "that the office of chief secretary for Ireland is an effective office of the highest responsibility, which cannot be held by any person absent from the realm; and that the emoluments of that office ought not to be enjoyed by any person who is rendered unable by his situation to perform the duties thereof."

To this Sir Arthur Wellesley answered, that when first he was appointed to the secretaryship, it was with the clear understanding that his acceptance of that situation should not preclude him from assuming any subsequent military command. Under this impression he had gone to Zealand, and afterwards to Portugal; and in both cases, having found the office vacant on his return, he had resumed the functions of it.

But in both cases he had relinquished all claim to a continuance in it upon his quitting the country, so that he should have had no reason to complain had he found it occupied by another. That it was not so was attributable to the noble duke at the head of the government of Ireland, who had very kindly expressed his wish still to avail himself of his (Sir Arthur Wellesley's) services.

After some observations, Lord Castlereagh moved the previous question, to which Mr. Whitbread did not object—as he said his only object was to prevent the present case from being established as a precedent, which he thought the discussion had done.

After this Sir Arthur Wellesley's parliamentary duties were suspended; but, before we proceed to further military details, it is proper to notice that his abilities in the senate were fully commensurate to those in the field; and it has been well said of him, particularly throughout his defence of his brother, that if he could not silence his adversaries, he always convinced his auditors; whilst his mode of speaking, at once simple, perspicuous, and energetic, was united with so much real modesty and diffidence of manner, as to secure him no small share of the favour of the house, and a constant degree of flattering attention.

It was during the short-lived administration of Lords Grey and Grenville that he had come into parliament for an Irish borough, but afterwards sat for Newport in Hants: and it was in the succeeding administration that he was appointed to the chief secretaryship of the sister kingdom; an office certainly incompatible with the active duties of that profession which he had chosen, and of which he had now proved himself to be one of the greatest ornaments: but then it must be remembered that he accepted it merely on condition of its not prejudicing his military views and pursuits; and that he performed its duties sedulously whilst at home, and with a degree of highly honourable perseverance, at the same time declining all salary during those short periods when absent from its duties.

A treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance, between his Britannic majesty and his Catholic majesty Ferdinand the Seventh, was now arranged, by which Great Britain guarantied the succession and possession of the Spanish crown and empire to Ferdinand himself, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation shall acknowledge; whilst the Spanish government engaged never to cede to France any part of the territories or possessions of the

Spanish monarchy in any part of the world; making common cause against France, and not to make peace with that power, except by common consent.

Our troops in the Peninsula had now for some time been commanded by Sir John Craddock; but the British government having determined on more active operations, it was thought proper to intrust the command to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who immediately prepared to supersede Sir John, that gallant officer's services being required in another part of the globe, where they might be equally honourable to himself and useful to his country.

On the 22d of April, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon from England, to resume the command of the united British and Portuguese armies. He was received with extreme joy by the inhabitants, and a splendid illumination took place. On the 24th he set out to join the army which had already proceeded on its march to Oporto.

On the 9th of May Sir Arthur Wellesley intended that the army should march from Coimbra to dispossess the enemy of Oporto; in fact, the advanced guard and the cavalry had marched on the 7th, and the whole had halted on the 8th, to afford time for Marshal Beresford with his corps to arrive upon the Douro. The infantry of the army was formed into three divisions for this expedition; of which two, consisting of the advanced guard, of the Hanoverian brigade, and the brigade of guards, under Brigadier General Stewart, Lieutenant Generals Paget and Payne, &c. with a brigade of artillery, under Lieutenant General Sherbrooke, moved by the high road from Coimbra to Oporto; whilst one composed of Major General Hill's brigade and Brigadier General Cameron's with a brigade of six pounders, proceeded by the road from Coimbra to Aveiro.

On the 10th, in the morning, before daylight, the cavalry and advanced guard crossed the Vouga, with the intention to surprise and cut off four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of infantry and artillery, cantoned in *Albergaria Nova*, and the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from that river.



In this affair, though not completely successful as far as regarded the complete surprise, the superiority of the British cavalry was evident throughout the day; some prisoners and cannon of the detachment were taken, and the British advanced guard took up the position of Oliveira.

On the same day Major General Hill, who had embarked at Aveiro in the evening of the 9th, arrived at Ovar, in the rear of the enemy's right, and the head of Lieutenant General Sherbrooke's division passed the Vouga on the same evening.

On the 11th the advanced guard and cavalry continued to move on the high road towards Oporto, with Major General Hill's division in a parallel road which leads from Oporto to Ovar. On the arrival of the advanced guard at Vendas Novas, between Santo Redondo and Grijon, they fell in with the outposts of the enemy's advanced guards, consisting of about 4,000 infantry, and some squadrons of cavalry, strongly posted on the heights above Grijon, their front being covered by woods and broken ground; but the enemy's left flank was in a moment most judiciously turned by a movement well executed by Major General

Murray, with Brigadier General Langberth's brigade of the Hanoverian Legion; whilst the 16th Portuguese regiment of Brigadier General Stewart's brigade attacked their right, and the riflemen of the 93d and the flank companies of the 20th, 43d, and 52d, of the same brigade under Major Way, attacked the infantry in the woods and village in their centre.

These attacks soon obliged the enemy to give way; and the honourable Brigadier General Stewart immediately led two squadrons of the 16th and 20th dragoons, under the command of Major Blake, in pursuit of the enemy, destroyed many, and took many prisoners. This success, though on a small scale, had such an effect upon the French, that they crossed the Douro, and destroyed the bridge on the night of the 11th; but Sir Arthur soon after collected as many boats as could be brought to the ferry immediately above the towns of Oporto and Villa Nova, as it was important, with a view to the operations of Marshal Beresford, that he should cross the Douro immediately. In

furtherance of this operation, he also in the morning of the 12th sent Major General Murray, with a battalion of the Hanoverian Legion, a squadron of cavalry, and two six pounders, to endeavour to collect boats, and, if possible, to cross the river at Ovin-tas about four miles above Oporto.

The ground on the right bank of the river at the ferry immediately above Oporto, and where Sir Arthur intended to cross, was capable of being protected and commanded by the fire of cannon, placed on the height of the Sierra Convent at Villa Nova, and there appeared to be a good position for the British troops on the opposite side of the river, until they should be collected in sufficient numbers. The enemy took no notice of the collecting of the boats, nor indeed of the embarkation of the troops, until after the first battalions (the Buffs) were landed, and had taken up their position under the command of Lieutenant General Paget, on the opposite side of the river.

They then commenced an attack upon them, with a large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under the command of Marshal Soult, which that corps most gallantly sustained till supported successively by the 48th and 66th regiments belonging to Major General Hill's brigade, and a Portuguese battalion, and afterwards by the first battalions of detachments belonging to Brigadier General Richard Stewart's brigade.\*

\* An officer, who was present on this occasion, makes the following lively observations :

"Every thing considered, the passage of the Douro is certainly one of the most brilliant achievements on record. The troops had made a forced march of above eighty miles from Coimbra in three days and a half, and the whole of the artillery was got on, though some parts of the road were so excessively bad that it seemed wonderful how the guns ever got through them. From the heat of the weather, and the great length of time which the stoppage of the artillery forced us to be on the different marches, the fatigues which the troops underwent was extreme. The current of the Douro is very rapid, the opposite banks high and steep, in possession of the enemy, and we were ignorant of his forces and defences. There was no means of crossing the river, except in such small Portuguese boats as the enthusiasm of the people brought to us, at their own peril, from the French side of the river; and

Lieutenant General Paget was unfortunately wounded soon after the attack commenced, when the command of these gallant troops devolved upon Major General Hill: and although the French made repeated attacks upon them, they made no impression; and at length Major General Murray (by the masterly

the troops that first passed had to wait till these boats went backwards and forwards, and successively brought over the remainder. Notwithstanding such difficulties, Sir Arthur Wellesley did not delay one moment in crossing the river. The animation and bravery of the troops seconded his activity and presence of mind; the enemy's batteries were soon taken, himself defeated at all points, a vast number of prisoners made; and when the pursuit was ordered to cease, one sentiment of regret pervaded all. The bridge over the Douro being destroyed, there was no means of getting over the artillery, and only about sixty of the dragoons had already crossed. Under these circumstances, Sir Arthur Wellesley durst not in prudence pursue, though we have since learned from some English officers who were with the French army, and afterwards made their escape, that the confusion was so great, and the troops so entangled with baggage, &c. that the greatest part of them must have been taken prisoners if we had continued the pursuit.

"The country was so hostile to the French, that they could not get any information of our movements: the advance from Coimbra was therefore unexpected; and it was so very rapid, that they were completely taken by surprise.

"Seven hundred sick were by this means left in the hospital. Marshal Soult's dinner was preparing, and was actually eaten by Sir Arthur Wellesley. Some of the captured generals were taken in the streets of Oporto. Many men were killed in the streets by the 29th regiment, and General Laborde's baggage was taken just beyond the entrance of the city.

"The scene was altogether most beautiful, and perfectly unique. The day was very fine; and, the tide being in, the river was quite full.

"Immediately opposite to Oporto is the town of Villa Nova, where we embarked to cross the river. Here on the beach was raised an immense standard of white cloth, on which the sign of the cross was embroidered; the opposite walls of Oporto were lined with people waving white handkerchiefs to us, expressing, by their signs and gestures, their extreme anxiety for our passing the river; the Portuguese rowed their own boats, and the animation these poor fishermen displayed, and their exertions to get us quickly over, were very striking. The houses, as we passed through the streets, were principally shut, for fear of being pillaged by the French in their retreat; but the balconies were full of people, chiefly women, and from one end of the shore to the other there was a continued line of white handkerchiefs waved to us from the balconies:

movement of the morning) having appeared on the left flank of the French, on his march from Ovintra where he had crossed, and Lieutenant General Sherbrooke (who by this time had availed himself of the enemy's weakness in the town of Oporto, and had crossed the Douro at the ferry, between the towns of Villa Nova and Oporto) having appeared upon the right with the brigade of guards, and the 29th regiment, the whole of the enemy's force retired in the utmost confusion towards Amarantha, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight ammunition tumbrels, and many prisoners: their loss amounted to a considerable number, and they left 700 sick and wounded behind them in the hospitals at Oporto.

The exertions of the army in this affair were highly deserving of praise. In four days they had marched over eighty miles of most difficult country, and had gained many important positions, and had actually engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops. Oporto now became the reward of the captors.

Sir Arthur, immediately on entering Oporto, very prudently and humanely issued a proclamation, in which he required from the inhabitants that they should comport themselves with compassion and humanity towards the French prisoners, who by the laws of war were entitled to his protection. He showed them that it would be inconsistent with the generosity and humanity of the Portuguese nation to revenge upon those unfortunate individuals the outrages and calamities which it had suffered; and he, therefore, directed all the inhabitants to remain tranquil in the town, and to forbear appearing in the streets with arms.

When Sir Arthur Wellesley first determined upon the expedition to the north of Portugal against Marshal Soult,\* he had

\* Marshal Soult is now upwards of fifty years of age; he is described to be strong and active, but a libertine and avaricious. In fact, glory is but his third passion, coming in after money and women; so that when he first heard of his appointment some years ago to the then *Army of England*, he said, in the presence of an Englishman then in France, "Now I am going to recruit my seraglio and to fill my coffers, by putting into requisition English misses and English guineas."

sanguine hopes that the Portuguese General, Silveira, would be able to hold his post upon the Tamaga till he should be reinforced; by means of which position, and by the possession of Chaves, the enemy's retreat would have been cut off, excepting across the Minho river; but even that he had hoped to render impracticable by pressing hard upon his rear. This well concerted plan was, however, deranged by the French having got possession of the bridge of Amarantha, where Silveira was posted; particularly as Sir Arthur had no real ground to hope that Marshal Beresford, who was then marching towards Lamego, would be able to effect more than to confine the enemy on that side, and oblige him to retire by Chaves into Galicia, rather than by Villa Real into Castile.

Yet the gallant Beresford effected more than was supposed possible: and after having driven in the enemy's posts at Villa Real and Maisan Fren with some loss, actually forced General Loison's outposts at the bridge of Amarantha, and again acquired possession of the left bank of the Tamaga, on the very day that the commander in chief had so gallantly passed the Douro. In fact, no sooner had the intelligence of this brilliant coup de main reached Loison than he judged it prudent to retire immediately from Amarantha, and to join the advanced guard of the French army, when General Beresford instantly occupied his evacuated post.

On the morning of the 13th Sir Arthur Wellesley led his army from Oporto in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and in the evening he received information that they had destroyed a great proportion of their artillery in the neighbourhood of Pennafiel, and had directed their march towards Braga; a measure to which he was evidently driven in consequence of Marshal Beresford's coöperation on the Tamaga.

Sir Arthur, on having these facts well ascertained, immediately proceeded, on the morning of the 14th, with the army in two columns towards the Minho river, directing the marshal to march upon Chaves in case the enemy should turn to his right, whilst Major General Murray with the Hanoverian Legion was

to communicate with the marshal, if, as then reported, Loison should remain in the vicinity of Amarantha.

In unison with these general orders the pursuit was continued until the 15th, when Sir Arthur with the main body arrived at Braga, and on the following day at Salamonde; and this with such rapidity that the guards under Lieutenant General Sherbrooke and Brigadier General Campbell, then in advance of the British army, had an affair with the enemy's rear guard at a late hour in the evening. In this business the British attacked them in position, and having turned their flanks by the heights, the enemy immediately retreated, leaving a gun and some prisoners behind them.\*

On the 17th and 18th the pursuit continued, and on the latter day the British army arrived at Monte Alegre, when Sir Arthur found that Soult had taken a road through the mountains towards

\* The sufferings of the French army at this time were dreadful, as appears by the journal of an officer on the spot.

"The road as we went along was strewed with wrecks of their army, dead horses, muskets, ammunition, knapsacks, bodies of French soldiers, murdered and stripped by the peasants, and now and then a solitary soldier lying on the road side, and dying from fever, want, and fatigue.

"The scene at the bridge over the Cabado was most striking and affecting. The bridge is very narrow, and the confusion had been so great, that the cavalry, in passing, had trampled down the infantry. Vast numbers of men and horses had been precipitated over the battlements. The bed of the torrent was covered with drowned horses, or such as had been lamed in their fall; the banks were strewed with baggage of every description—arms, knapsacks, dead horses, dead bodies, &c. and if to this assemblage of sad and melancholy desolation, you add the effects of the surrounding scenery, immense mountains, a furious and rapid torrent forcing its way among piles of rocks, and continually augmented by long cascades from the mountains, you may form some opinion of the sort of feelings which such a view must inspire.

"The quantity of plunder collected in Oporto by the French must have been enormous; there is hardly a species of property but what we found in the knapsacks that were thrown away; plate of every description, jewelry, quantities of money, women's ornaments, and clothes of all sorts. A man of the 83d regiment got a bar of solid gold; another found one of silver."

Orenza, by which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to overtake him, and on which he had no means of stopping him.

That the enemy had a great superiority over the British in the *celerity* of his movements upon this occasion, is evident; but that is not surprising when we consider that he commenced his retreat by destroying so large a quantity of his guns and ammunition. In fact, he afterwards destroyed the remainder, and a great part of his baggage, and kept nothing except what the troops or a few mules could carry.

He also left behind him his sick and wounded, and the road from Penafiel to Monte Alegre was strewed with the carcasses of horses and mules, and French soldiers who were put to death by the peasantry before the British advanced guard could save them.\* During this retreat the British picked up about 500 prisoners; but the enemy, upon the whole, lost not less than one fourth of their whole number. That it got away at last was considered as matter of regret; but Sir Arthur very judiciously observed, that if an army throws away all its cannon, equipments, and baggage, and every thing which can strengthen it, and can enable it to act together as a body, and abandons all those who are entitled to its protection, but retard its progress, it must then be able to march by roads through which it cannot be followed with any prospect of being overtaken by an army which has not made the same sacrifices.

In this brisk pursuit, too, we must not omit that, notwithstanding all the care of the general, the British troops suffered considerably from the state of the weather; the rain having been constant for nearly a week, and the roads in that difficult coun-

\* The commander in chief observed, in his despatches, that this was the natural effect of the species of warfare which the enemy had carried on in Portugal. The French soldiers, he added, had plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure, and he had seen many persons hanging on the trees by the sides of the road, executed for no reason that he could learn, excepting that they were not friendly to the French invasion and usurpation of the government of their country. He also said that the route of their column on the retreat could be traced by the smoke of the villages to which they set fire!

try almost impracticable ; yet they persevered with spirit in the pursuit to the very last, having been generally on the march from daylight in the morning until dark. The brigade of guards were at the head of the column through the whole business, and, as Sir Arthur observed, set a most laudable example to the whole army, and conducted themselves remarkably well in the affair with the enemy's rear guard at Salamonde.

Sir Arthur Wellesley (after the complete expulsion of Soult from Portugal) marched his army southward from the Minho to Abrantes, where he collected stores and provisions to enable him to march into Spain to join General Cuesta, who had assembled about 40,000 men round Monade. On forming a junction, it was proposed to attack Victor's and Sebastiani's corps, these being united and occupying an entrenched position near Truxillo, about 70 miles from the Portuguese frontiers.\* In the mean time the war in Spain was carried on with various success. The army of General Blake had resumed offensive operations, and had formed a junction with the armies of Murcia and Valencia. A division of his army had, however, been surprised near Saragossa by a French corps under General Suchet, and obliged to retire with considerable loss.

Blake then advanced to Tortosa with the intention of attacking General St. Cyr's corps ; and at Alcantara a most gallant action was fought between 2,000 Spaniards, commanded by Colonels Mayne and Grant, British officers, and a body of French consisting of 10,000 men, in which the latter lost upwards of 1,200, and the small body of brave Spaniards were enabled to retreat with only a small comparative loss. In this the enemy also had 1,500 cavalry and 12 field pieces ; but the Spaniards fought with such fury, and such indescribable gallantry, that they maintained the pass until sunset, in spite of a most dreadful and galling fire from the whole of the enemy's line.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, on his return from the pursuit of Soult, was obliged to remain long inactive in the vicinity of Lisbon,

\* At this period, (3d July,) General Crawford had arrived at Lisbon with a reinforcement of 3,000 men from Ireland, and had proceeded to Abrantes.



not by any means from his own disposition, which was full of activity and ardour in the cause, and forward and adventurous in quest of personal reputation. He was, indeed, anxious to strike some decisive blow; but before this could be attempted, it was necessary that some plan of coöperation should be concerted between him and the Spanish generals, particularly Cuesta. He was also extremely anxious that Cuesta should not attempt any movement of importance without the English army, and at length obtained his promise that he would suspend his operations until the British army had reached the Tagus.

In his subsequent arrangements he found many obstacles with respect to the management of the Spanish generals and juntas, and in urging them to call forth all the energies and means of their country, particularly with Cuesta, who was a friend to a kind of harassing warfare, and not very willing to run the risk of any great or decisive battle. At length, however, a plan of operations was concerted between the British and Spanish generals, and both began their march towards Madrid.

One of the most important and splendid victories in the Peninsula was now approaching; it is necessary, therefore, to examine the previous military transactions with some degree of precision, in order to investigate and understand its real merits.

Early in July, Joseph Bonaparte joined Sebastiani with those troops which he brought from Madrid, and with a detachment from Marshal Victor's corps, making the force under Sebastiani about 28,000 men, and their intention was to attack the Spanish corps under General Vanegas; but that officer retired into the mountains of the Sierra Morena; and, though forced to retreat, was still able to attack and destroy a considerable part of the enemy's advanced guard.

The French troops then returned to the Tagus; and the whole army then under Victor, and amounting to about 35,000, were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and on the Alberché.

General Cuesta's Spanish force was now in the vicinity at Almaraz, and the advanced guard of the British army arrived

at Placentia on the 8th of July, the whole of the troops being finally collected about the 16th.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, with his usual precision, now proceeded to Cuesta's head-quarters, and having stopped with him two days, arranged a plan of operations upon the French army, which were to commence about the 18th, if they should remain so long in their position as to allow the whole British force to come up. At this period the Spanish army amounted to about 38,000 men, (exclusive of the force under Vanegas,) of which about 7,000 were cavalry, 14,000 of this force were detached to the bridge of Arzobispo, and the remainder were encamped under the Puerte de Mirabete.

According to these arrangements, the British army broke up from Placentia on the 17th, and reached Oropesa on the 20th, where a junction was formed with the Spanish force. Previous to this Sir Robert Wilson had marched from his positions, and arrived on the Alberché on the 23d, with the Lusitanian Legion, and a small Spanish and Portuguese force; whilst Vanegas, having broke up from Madrilejos, was able to cross the Tagus by a ford at Puente Duenes, and to arrive at Argand about the same time.

The combined armies moved from Oropesa on the 22d, and the advanced guards attacked the enemy's outposts at Talavera, when their right was turned by the 1st hussars and the 23d light dragoons under General Anson, directed by Lieutenant General Payne, and by the division of infantry under Major General Mackenzie, and they were driven in by the Spanish advanced guards under the command of General Sarjas, and the Duc d'Albuquerque.

The united armies now approaching the enemy rapidly, the columns were formed for the attack of the position of Talavera de la Reyna on the 24th of July; but the attack being postponed until the morning of the 25th by desire of General Cuesta, the columns were again put in motion, and the different corps advanced, when it was discovered that the bird had flown, and that the enemy had actually retired about one in the morning to

Santa Olalla, and thence towards Torrijos, evidently with the intention of forming a junction with Sebastiani.

At this period Sir Arthur Wellesley found his operations much crippled, and his advance after a retreating army much retarded, on account of the great deficiency of means of transport in Spain. General Cuesta had indeed urged the central junta to adopt vigorous measures in order to relieve the general wants; but these means were not taken with sufficient resolution, and Sir Arthur was forced to come to the determination of not moving from Talavera until he was supplied; as, in fact, he was no longer able to continue his operations without this relief.

General Cuesta, however, followed the enemy's line of march with his army from the Alberché on the morning of the 24th, as far as Santa Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos: and, at the same time, Sir Arthur, but without breaking up his main body, detached two divisions of infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, across the Alberché to Casalegos, under the command of Lieutenant General Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between him and the Spanish army, and with Sir Robert Wilson's force at Escalona. It happened unfortunately at this junction that General Vanegas had not carried into execution that part of the preconcerted plan of operations which related to his corps, so that he was still at Damiel in La Mancha, by which means the French, by the 26th, had been enabled quietly to collect all their detachments in that part of Spain, between Torrijos and Toledo, in which latter place they only left a garrison of 2,000 men.

The French united army now consisted of the corps of Marshal Victor, of that of General Sebastiani, and of seven or eight thousand men of Joseph Bonaparte's guards, and the garrison of Madrid: a most splendid and apparently overbearing concentration of force; the whole commanded by Joseph himself, aided by Marshals Jourdan and Victor, and General Sebastiani.

Flushed with their numbers, the French now adopted a plan of attack instead of retreat; and on the 26th, Cuesta's army was attacked upon his advanced posts near Torrijos, from whence he

was obliged to fall back, retiring upon the left bank of the Alberché, General Sherbrooke still continuing at Casalegos, and the enemy at Santa Olalla.

Sir Arthur was now convinced that the French intended to try the result of a general action, for which the best position appearing to be in the vicinity of Talavera, he prevailed on Cuesta to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, and immediately ordered General Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving General Mackenzie with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry as an advanced post in the wood on the right of Alberché, which covered our left flank.

The position now taken up by the troops extended rather more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height on which was *en échellon*, and in second line, a division of infantry under the orders of Major General Hill. Between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, there was a valley, not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height itself; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence upon the expected action.

The Spanish troops\* formed the right of the whole, and they extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive trees, and much intersected by ditches. The high road, leading from the bridge over the Alberché, was defended by a heavy battery,

\* "On the 21st we passed the town of Oropesa, which appears to have been a place of considerable note, though now totally deserted, and certainly contains many spacious and handsome edifices, both public and private. On the 24th we were treated with a sight of the Spanish army, who marched through, headed by *Cuesta*, and a respectable looking priest; they comprised a very large force, both of cavalry and infantry, and were dressed in every colour the rainbow itself can boast, forming *en masse* a most irregular set, not to be compared, even in appearance, to our rawest volunteers; but amounting, it was said, to between forty and fifty thousand men. They moved on to take a station in front; it being their general's desire that the Spaniards should stand foremost in the Spanish cause."

*Journal of an Officer.*

in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks, in the roads which led from the town and the right to the left of the British force.

In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which the combined troops had begun to construct a redoubt with some open ground in its rear; and at this spot Brigadier General Alexander Campbell was posted with a division of infantry, supported by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, and some Spanish cavalry in his rear.

Such was the disposition of the British and Spanish armies, as directed by the gallant Wellesley with all the military talents of a Scipio or a Hannibal, and detailed by himself with all the elegant precision of a Polybius.\*

The operations now commenced, and about two o'clock on the 27th the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberché, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie's division. It was not the intention of Sir Arthur that the business should commence on this spot; but the French with great rapidity had made it before the troops could be withdrawn. However, the whole of this detachment of the British force, consisting of General Mackenzie's and Colonel Donkin's brigades, and General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and supported by General Payne with the other four regiments of cavalry, in the plain between Talavera and the wood, were all withdrawn in good

\* "We, afterwards, passed the river Alberca over a very fine bridge of eight arches. It was fordable, and intersected by an infinity of small sands. In the afternoon the scenery assumed a new character; we saw a great quantity of cork trees, and, in the distance, mountains covered with snow. At length we arrived at Talavera de la Reyna, a town surrounded by a very rich country and beautiful avenues of trees. The smiling interior of the country shows that it anciently enjoyed a degree of affluence, which it still retains. From Talavera we turned to the left, and rode almost the whole day along paths that meandered among orchards and delightful flowery meadows."

order, but with some loss, particularly by the 2d battalion of the 37th, and the 2d battalion of the 31st, in the wood.

The conduct of General Mackenzie upon this occasion, and the military and officer like style in which he withdrew his advanced guard, was much praised by the commander in chief, whilst the steadiness and discipline of the 45th regiment, and of the 5th battalion of the 60th, were most conspicuous.

As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in greater numbers on the right bank of the Alberch ; and the general saw clearly that he was now advancing to a general attack, whilst General Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the British position, where he took his station in the second line in rear of the guards, Colonel Doukin being placed in the same situation, further upon the left, in the rear of the German Legion. It was now the dusk of the evening, and the enemy immediately commenced his attack, by a cannonade upon the British position, and by an attempt with his cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry on the right: but this general attempt, on both ends of the line, failed entirely. He, however, early in the night, pushed a division along the valley on the left of the height occupied by General Hill, of which he obtained a momentary position; but General Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and carried it. This attack was repeated during the night, but failed; and again at daylight in the morning of the 23th, by two divisions of infantry, but was a third time repulsed by the gallant Hill. In all these affairs the conduct both of officers and men was most meritorious, and many lives were lost, and General Hill himself slightly wounded.

The enemy now determined to carry every thing by a general coup de main, and accordingly made an attack along the whole line of the British, with the whole of his force. Previous to this, however, in consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on the left, by the valley, Sir Arthur Wellesley had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d'Albuquerque's division of Spanish cavalry. The enemy then placed light infantry in the range of mountains on the

left of the valley, which were opposed by a division of Spanish infantry under Lieutenant General de Bassecourt.

The general attack now commenced by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley with a view to attack the height occupied by General Hill; but these columns were immediately charged by the 1st German light dragoons and 23d dragoons under the command of General Anson, directed by Lieutenant General Payne, and supported by General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23d dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy's plan.

Whilst this general attack was made upon the left, with what he hoped would be a preponderant force, another took place upon Brigadier General Alexander Campbell's position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British; but this attack was in like manner most successfully repulsed by General Campbell, supported by the king's regiment of Spanish cavalry, and two battalions of Spanish infantry; and that with such effect that the enemy left their artillery behind them. The whole of this part of the business was conducted in high style, and much to the satisfaction of Sir Arthur himself, who appears to have been in the midst of this as well as of the other attacks.

Whilst these operations were thus going on, the enemy made another attack upon Lieutenant General Sherbrooke's division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army. This was perhaps as gallant a part of the business as took place on that day; for the attack was most spiritedly repulsed by a charge of bayonets by the whole division, in which, however, our troops suffered much from the impetuosity of their gallantry; for the brigade of guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were exposed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy's battery, and of their retiring columns; and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position, under cover of the second line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, which had been moved from the centre, and of the 1st battalion of the 43th, which had been most judiciously moved by

the commander in chief from its original position on the heights, as soon as he observed the advance of the guards; and it was formed in the plain and advanced upon the enemy, and thus covered the forming of General Sherbrooke's division.

In this attack, the whole of the enemy's troops were evidently employed, but repulsed in all directions: and they immediately commenced their retreat across the Alberché, during the night. This they conducted in the most regular order, nor would it have been prudent for the combined armies to pursue; they left, however, in our possession, twenty pieces of cannon, a quantity of ammunition, and some prisoners.

After so long an action, with more than double numbers, it is not surprising that the loss of the British both in men and officers should have been very great. That of the enemy was, however, much greater; as Sir Arthur Wellesley had the most positive information that entire brigades of infantry were destroyed, and that the battalions which retired were much reduced in numbers; their total loss amounting at least to ten thousand men, that of the British being as in the note below.\*

The French (still numerically superior to the combined army) continued to keep a rear guard of about ten thousand men on the left of the Alberché; whilst the extreme fatigue of the troops, the want of provisions, and the number of wounded to be taken care of, obliged the British to remain in their position so gallantly defended.

A reinforcement, consisting of Brigadier General Crawford's brigade, arrived in the British camp on the 29th in the morning; and so great had been their anxiety to join in the expected

\* On the side of the French, Generals Lapisse and Morlot were killed; and Generals Sebastiani and Boulet wounded. On the British side Major General Mackenzie and Brigadier General Langwerth were killed; whilst Major General Hill and Brigadier General A. Campbell were slightly wounded.

The total British loss on both days amounted to 34 officers killed, and 195 wounded; whilst the sergeants &c and rank and file were, killed 767; wounded 3,718; and 9 officers, with 644 others missing; making a grand total of 5,367.



conflict, that they had actually marched twelve Spanish leagues in little more than twenty-four hours; and on the 31st of July, about eleven o'clock at night, the enemy withdrew their rear guard, which had been posted on the heights on the left of the Alberché, the whole army marching towards Santa Olalla, as if with a view of taking up a position in the vicinity of Guadarama.

Immediately after the battle of Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley was declared generalissimo of the Spanish armies, a circumstance which it was hoped would produce more unity of design in the Spanish proceedings, both civil and military.

The extraordinary fatigues and exertions he had undergone had, however, brought on an ague and fever, so that it was necessary that he should remove for some time to Lisbon for the benefit of the air.

On the 28th of July, the very day of the memorable battle, his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, landed at Cadiz from on board a British frigate, and was received with the most enthusiastic joy by all ranks. A vast multitude flocked down to the landing-place to receive him, and his carriage was drawn by the populace, a thing almost unprecedented in Spain.

Every public honour that could be shown to him, as ambassador extraordinary from Great Britain, and as brother to the illustrious general, was exhibited. On the 7th of August a grand entertainment was prepared, at which the marquis with his suite, the heads of the government, the army, navy, and other departments, both native and British, were all assembled, together with the Sicilian ambassador, the Pope's Nuncio, several of the first Spanish grandees; and, in fact, all persons of respectability connected with the two nations.

Patriotic toasts were given to enliven the scene, and the most brilliant theatric decorations were afterwards presented.

On the 10th the marquis set out for Seville, where he was received with every mark of respect by the Supreme Junta, to whom he earnestly recommended that measures should be taken to pursue a more vigorous system for the effectual coöperation

of the Spanish armies against their invaders; whilst at the same time he, with great prudence and propriety, declined giving any advice as to their civil forms of government, or even respecting the proposal for a regency; a line of conduct fully adequate to convince the people of Spain that Great Britain only interfered for her welfare, in common with the great question of public liberty in Europe, without the slightest wish to interfere in her questions of domestic policy or internal regulation, and also proving that the introduction of an English army into Spain was solely for her defence against foreign invasion.

Notwithstanding the successful defence of Talavera, amounting, in fact, itself to a signal victory, though not so in its consequences, Sir Arthur Wellesley found himself shortly afterwards obliged to fall back and take a defensive position on the Tagus at Deleytosa and its vicinity. As much of the success of the British army, or at least of its power to take advantage of its own victories, depended on the active coöperation of the Spaniards, not only indeed in a military, but in a civil point of view, it is necessary to go a little into the detail of that state of affairs which rendered such a retreat necessary, after so much blood had been shed, and so much glory gained.

It appears, then, that when Sir Arthur Wellesley first entered Spain he had a communication with General Cuesta, respecting the occupation of two points on the Tagus, the Puerto de Banos and the Puerto de Penales; on which it was arranged that the former should be occupied by a Spanish force under the Marquis de la Reyna, whilst the latter should be held by the Duque del Parque, with a detachment from the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo. With respect to the fulfilment of the latter part of the arrangement the British general had some doubts, fearing that garrison not capable of sparing a sufficient force; and he therefore wrote to Marshal Beresford, some days before the battle of Talavera, to keep an eye upon it; but with respect to Puerto de Banos, a post of great importance, he had no doubt of its security, Cuesta having agreed to preserve it by large detachments from his army. Two days, however, after the battle, intelligence was received at

Talavera that 12,000 rations had been ordered at Fuente Dueños for the 28th, and 24,000 at Los Santos for the same day, for a French corps, which, it was believed, was on its march to Puerto de Baños.

On this occasion Cuesta expressed considerable anxiety for the safety of this post, and proposed to Sir Arthur that Sir Robert Wilson should be sent there with his corps; but though Sir Robert was that day at Talavera, yet his corps was in the mountains towards Escalona; and as he had already made himself very useful in that quarter, and had even been near Madrid, with which city he had kept up some communication, Sir Arthur was anxious to continue those services, and therefore proposed that Cuesta should immediately detach a Spanish force to the post that was threatened. But though Cuesta admitted the necessity of a reinforcement being sent, and confessed himself fully sensible of the propriety of continuing Sir Robert Wilson's exertions in their former quarter, still he could not be prevailed on to detach a part of his own army.

Having at that period no further intelligence of the enemy's advance, Sir Arthur was in hopes that they might be deterred from their project by the intelligence of the defeat of their main body; or at least that the garrison at the post would be capable of their own defence. On the 30th, however, he again renewed his application to Cuesta, but without effect; nor was it until the 2d of August that he could be prevailed upon to detach General Bassecourt, and that after intelligence had arrived of the enemy having entered Bejar, and when it was obvious that no defence would be made by the troops in the Puerto.

On the 2d of August intelligence was received of the enemy having entered Placentia in two columns; and that the Marquis de la Reyna, whose two battalions did not amount to more than 600 men, with only about twenty rounds of ammunition each, had retired from the Puerto and Placentia, without firing a shot, and had gone to the bridge of Almaras, which he declared he intended to remove; when the battalions at Bejar dispersed without making any resistance.

As soon as this intelligence was known, Cuesta then thought proper to apply to Sir Arthur Wellesley, proposing that half of the army should march to the rear to oppose the enemy, whilst the other half should maintain the post at Talavera: to which the British general answered, that if by "half the army," he meant *half of each army*, he could only reply that he was ready to go, or to stay, with the whole British army, but that he could not consent to separate it. Cuesta then wished that Sir Arthur should choose between the two, when he preferred *to go*, thinking that the British troops were most likely to do the business effectually and without contest, and from being of opinion that to open the communication through Placentia, although very important to the Spaniards, was still of more importance to the British army: with which decision General Cuesta appeared perfectly satisfied.

But the movements of the main body of the French army, ever since the 1st of August, had induced Sir Arthur to be of opinion, that on despairing of forcing the posts at Talavera, they intended to effect a passage by Escalona, and thus to open a communication with the French corps coming from Placentia. This suspicion was confirmed on the night of the 2d, by communications from Sir Robert Wilson;\* when Sir Arthur Wellesley pre-

\* The gallant and judicious Sir Robert Wilson, who has distinguished himself so much, both in the literary and military worlds, is the son of an eminent historical painter, Mr. Benjamin Wilson, who, about the middle of the last century, resided in Great Queen-street, London, and disputed the palm with Hudson and Ramsay, the two most popular artists of that day. Sir Robert was the youngest son, and was educated at Winchester and Westminster schools, at the latter of which places an anecdote is preserved of his early military bias; for, having heard that his majesty would have a grand review at Caesar's camp on Bagshot heath, the youthful aspirant after fame actually hired a pony, and with the immense sum of a few shillings broke from his form to enjoy the splendour of the scene. Fate and his father designed him for the civil warfare of the courts of law; but inclination got the better of prudence, and the inconsiderate kindness of a married sister enabled him to join the army in Flanders, (where his brother-in-law, Colonel Boswell, was killed,) he being then only sixteen years of age, and of course unable to draw upon his own fortune, his father being dead. Here he began his

pared for every chance, immediately waited upon General O'Doneghue, and pointed out to him the possibility that, in case the enemy came through Escalona, General Cuesta would be obliged to evacuate Talavera before Sir Arthur should be able to return to him; he therefore urged him in the strongest manner to collect all the carts he possibly could, in order to remove the British sick and wounded; and he further put the purport of the communication in writing, in order to be laid before General Cuesta.

Having arranged every thing, with every attention in his power, to the security of the British hospitals, Sir Arthur commenced his march on the 3d to Oropesa; and, hearing that General Bassecourt's Spanish corps was at Cautinello, he sent orders for it to halt there the next day, in order that he might be nearer to it; but, about five in the evening of that day, he received intelligence that the French had arrived from Placentia at Naval Moral, by which movement they got between him and the bridge of Almaras; and about an hour afterwards he received a letter from General O'Donoghue, informing him of the intention of General Cuesta to evacuate Talavera that evening, *and to leave there the British hospital*, excepting such men as could be moved by the means he already possessed; and this on the ground of his apprehensions that Sir Arthur was not strong enough for the corps coming from Placentia, and that the enemy was moving upon his flank, and had returned to Santa Olalla, in his front.

career as cornet in the 15th dragoons, and has since been engaged in all the active scenes of the various wars arising out of the French revolution, having also been engaged in several important military missions. His personal skill and gallantry are sufficiently proved by the fact, that, in the brilliant affair of Villers en Couche, he was one of the officers present when one hundred and seventy British dragoons, under the command of Major Aylet, actually cut their way through ten thousand Frenchmen, and killed from eight to twelve hundred, besides taking three pieces of cannon.

He married a daughter of Colonel Belford, niece of the late Sir Adam Williamson; and, in 1809 and 1810, organized the Lusitanian Legion which so often distinguished itself.

Irritated at such weakness of conduct, and fully convinced that such reasons were quite insufficient for giving up such an important post as Talavera, and thus exposing the combined armies to an attack in front and rear at the same time, Sir Arthur wrote immediately to Cuesta; but he had begun his march before he received it, and he arrived at Oropesa on the morning of the 4th, as if convinced that safety was only practicable under the wing of the British army.

Thus situated, Sir Arthur had only his choice of evils. On one view of the question, the enemy, stated to be 30,000 strong, but at all events consisting of the corps of Soult and Ney, either united, or not very distant from each other, and supposed by Marshal Jourdan and Joseph Bonaparte to be sufficiently strong to attack the British army, though stated at 25,000, much more than its number, were on one side, in possession of the high road to the passage of the Tagus at Almaras, the bridge at which place had, indeed, been removed, but the boats still remaining on the river. On the other view of the question the British general had reason to expect the advance of Victor's corps to Talavera as soon as General Cuesta's retreat should be known; and even after leaving 12,000 men to watch General Vanegas, and allowing from 10 to 11,000 to have been killed in the late battle, still would there have remained 25,000 men.

From this difficult situation, then, he could only extricate the combined armies by great celerity of movement, (to which the troops were unequal, as they had not had their allowance of provisions for several days,) and by their success in two battles; but if unsuccessful in either, all retreat would then have been cut off, whilst if Soult and Ney had avoided an action, and retired before him, waiting the arrival of Victor, then they would have been exposed to a general action with 50,000 men, and equally without a retreat.

He had also reason to expect that as the Marquis de la Reyna could not remove the boats from the river Almaras, they would be destroyed by Soult: his only mode of retreat, therefore, was

by the bridge of Arzobispo ; and if he had moved on, the enemy, by breaking that bridge while the army should be engaged with Soult and Ney, would thus have deprived him even of that resource.

At Oropesa he could not take a position, because by that he would leave open the road to the bridge of Arzobispo, from Talavera by Calera ; and, therefore, after considering the whole subject maturely, he was of opinion that it was advisable to retire to the Arzobispo bridge, and there to take up a defensive position on the Tagus, considering that the sooner the defensive line should be taken up, the more likely the troops would be able to defend it ; particularly as the French army when combined would, at least, amount to 62,000.

On this principle he marched on the 4th of August, and crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Arzobispo, continuing his route to Deleytosa, in which he considered himself well situated to defend the passage of the Almaras and the lower parts of the Tagus.

About two thousand of the wounded were brought away by the Spaniards from Talavera, but fifteen hundred still remained there ; and Sir Arthur, though justly offended at the conduct of the Spaniards, had nevertheless the liberal candour to acknowledge that he doubted whether, under any circumstances, it would have been possible, or consistent with humanity, to have removed them.

He had therefore only this consolation, that from the treatment which some of the soldiers wounded on the the 27th of the preceding month, and who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, experienced from them, and from the manner in which he himself had always treated the wounded who had fallen into his hands, he had reason to expect that these poor fellows would be well treated ; and also, as he himself very justly and feelingly expressed it, that circumstances over which he had, and could have no control, had alone placed the army in such a situation as to be obliged to leave them behind.

A few days after this, Sir Arthur Wellesley transmitted a

letter to the French commander in chief, in which he requested his care and attention to the wounded officers and soldiers who had fallen into his hands, in return for the care and attention which he had invariably paid to those of the French whom he had got possession of at different times; he also requested that money might be permitted to be sent to the officers, and that medical men might be received to take care of the British soldiers, &c.

To this request Marshal Mortier sent a very civil answer, promising that every care should be taken, and every attention paid, to the wounded, but declining any answer to the other points, until he should transmit them to the commander in chief. A day or two afterwards a British commissary, who had been taken prisoner and allowed to come away, reported that the British officers and soldiers were doing remarkably well, and that they were not only well fed, and well taken care of, but in fact preferably to the French troops!

Situated as Sir Arthur Wellesley now was, distress through want of provisions, and its consequent effects, obliged him to move towards the frontiers of Portugal in order to refresh his troops, where he had every reason to expect that he might be supplied with every thing he wanted.

The succeeding events of this year require but little further illustration; it is sufficient, therefore, to observe, that part of the French army, under Sebastiani fell in, on the 11th of August, with General Vanegas, and his Spanish army, at Almonacid, and inflicted upon him a total defeat; yet on the eastern coast of Spain the French were not so successful, and were particularly checked by the destruction of a convoy, destined for Barcelona, by the squadron under Lord Collingwood on the 25th of October.

When the intelligence of the battle of Talavera reached this country, the admiration of the empire was excited by the gallant conduct of the commander in chief, and his brave troops. The usual thanks were given by the legislature, and private subscriptions took place as usual for the wounded, and for the benefit



of the widows and orphans of those who so gloriously fell on that day.

A mark of royal approbation was also more peculiarly extended to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, on the 26th of August in this year, (1809,) was elevated to the dignity of the peerage of the united empire, by the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset.\*

Lord Wellington, soon after the retreat of his army, suffered severely from the fatigues of the campaign; but his health being re-established in October, he was about that time appointed by the regency captain general of all the forces serving in Portugal; and his army was now in excellent order, having all provisions and stores supplied from Lisbon and Abrantes.

On the Spanish side the French made themselves masters of Hostalrich on the 8th of November; and on the 19th of the same month General Arrisaga was attacked and beaten by Marshal Soult on the plains of Ocana.

On the 28th following, the Spaniards under the Duc del Parque were also defeated near Alba de Tormes, by General Kellerman; and on the 10th of December Gerona surrendered to the French, after having gloriously supported all the hardships and dangers of a siege for nearly six months. Such was the state of affairs at the close of 1809.

\* It is worthy of remark, that the motto of the family of Wellesley is "*Unica virtus necessaria*"—or *Virtue alone is necessary*; but Lord Wellington, having adopted a new motto on his creation, "*Porro unum necessarium*"—*One thing more is necessary*, his lordship has shown himself capable of performing not only that *one thing* more, but also of following it up with a successive train of noble deeds.

## SECTION VII.

Parliamentary thanks to Lord Wellington in 1810—Debates on that subject—  
 Luminous defence and vindication by the Marquis of Wellesley—Affairs in  
 Spain—Invasion of Andalusia—Occupancy of Seville by the French—Se-  
 bastiani defeats Arisaga—Siege of Cadiz—Jealousies of the Spanish Junta—  
 Negotiations of our ambassador with the Spanish government—Calling of  
 the Cortes—Operations in Catalonia—Defeat of General O'Donnel at Vichu  
 by Augereau—Operations in the north—Fall of Astorga—Atrocious pro-  
 clamations of Massena—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo—Distribution of the French  
 force—Policy of Lord Wellington—Cantonments of the British army—Ope-  
 rations of the armies—Affair at La Concepcion under Brigadier General  
 Crawford—Siege and surrender of Almeida to the French—The British  
 army retire, and clear the country—Anecdotes of these events—Topogra-  
 phical delineations—Lord Wellington takes post at Busaco—**BATTLE OF**  
**BUSACO**—Anecdotes and occurrences—Political and military consequences  
 of the action—British army retire upon their lines at Torres Vedras—Suf-  
 ferings of the Portuguese—Gallant seizure of Coimbra by Colonel Trant—  
 French army takes post in front of the British lines—Retreat of Massena—  
 Pursuit of the French army—Judicious arrangements of Lord Wellington  
 —Occurrences of the French retreat towards Santarem—British positions  
 at Cartaxo, and afterwards at Torres Vedras.

THE distinguished services of Lord Wellington at Talavera had certainly, by a great proportion of the people at home, been considered as so highly transcendent as fully to justify the marks of royal favour bestowed upon him, and to call for the thanks of the legislature. There were, however, some few individuals who still professed to have their doubts; and accordingly when parliament met, and the motion for a vote of thanks was expected, Lord Grey, in the house of lords, on the day preceding, expressed his opinion that it was of considerable importance that some information should be laid before the house, by which they might be enabled to form some opinion with respect to the propriety of the motion. It was necessary, he contended, that they should know whether the advance of Lord Wellington into Spain was the exercise of his own judgment, or the result of the instructions of ministers. It was also of importance that they should have before them the nature of the information communicated by Lord

Wellington respecting the action of Talavera; there being, as he said, strong reason to believe that ministers, at the time they held out that battle as a victory, knew, from what was stated by Lord Wellington in his despatches, that our army must retreat; and that the battle, said to be a victory, must be followed by all the consequences of a defeat. He therefore moved for the instructions to his lordship; for the despatches received from him, on his marching to Placentia; for the despatches which he sent from Talavera after the battle; and also for certain correspondence between Lord Wellington and the Spanish government respecting the supplies for the army. But all these motions were negatived as totally unnecessary, and also on the ground that there was no precedent for calling for papers in order to inquire into the general conduct of a campaign, where the only object in contemplation was a specific vote of thanks for a particular service.

On the succeeding day Lord Liverpool rose in the house for the purpose of moving thanks to Lord Wellington, and the officers and men under his command, for the skill and ability, the valour and bravery, by which they obtained the glorious victory at Talavera.

The prudence and propriety of his lordship's conduct on this occasion was not only honourable to himself, but to Lord Wellington; for he had framed his motion so, as he himself said, with a view to conciliation, as to separate the conduct of the army and of the officer commanding from every other subject connected with the general management of the campaign.

Whatever opinion might be entertained with respect to the measures which led to the battle itself, or to the consequences which ensued, still he contended there could be but one sentiment as to the skill of the general, and the valour of his army. In tracing the progress of the glorious event, he observed that it had been determined on the part of the French to make a concentrated attack on the combined armies; that although the Spanish army was present, and partially engaged in the battle, yet the brunt of the attack was principally, if not wholly, borne by the

English, not amounting to more than 20,000 men, whilst the French army fell little short of 50,000.

Yet the enemy, after repeatedly renewing their attacks, were repulsed with the loss of nearly 10,000 men, twenty pieces of artillery, and four standards.

It was of the last importance, he contended, that such victories as that of Talavera should be rewarded by every tribute of honour and praise that house could bestow; for as it had been the good fortune of Great Britain to unite a military spirit with commercial pursuits, so every encouragement was due still further to promote that spirit.

Even now, he justly asserted, no achievement was ever more entitled to praise than the victory at Talavera; and as he admitted that if their lordships were called upon to decide on all the circumstances of the campaign, it might naturally alter the question, he wished, therefore, to direct the attention of the house solely to the conduct of the officer, and the army under his command, on the 27th and 28th of July, 1809.

To this the Earl of Suffolk answered, that, as a professional man, it was painful to his feelings to state any objections to a motion of thanks to Lord Wellington; but he could not denominate that a victory where a retreat immediately followed, and the wounded and the prisoners fell immediately into the hands of the enemy. Even the capture of artillery, he contended, was not in all circumstances to be considered as a signal of victory, as, he said, it might have been convenient for the enemy to leave them upon the field! With regard to the reinforcement of 36,000 men, which was advancing to support the French, he inquired, why did not Lord Wellington know of their situation, and the probability of their approach? It was the duty of every general to have such information.

Considering also the amount of the British force in the Peninsula; and that only so small a portion of it was brought into action at Talavera, he thought that upon this head there was also much ground for reprehension, and this conduct appeared to him to be in perfect conformity to that of the same general in bring-

ing up only half his forces to act against the enemy at the battle of Vimiera.

The Earl of Grosvenor was apprehensive that if the house were to be called upon to vote thanks for every instance of the display of valour, the proceeding would draw after it very injurious results. If a single detachment, nay, if an individual, had exhibited proofs of bravery, their lordships, he said, might be called upon to vote away their thanks; and, as to the battle of Talavera itself, it was one which, in all its circumstances, did not appear to him to be entitled to such a reward.

After some other observations, Lord Grey rose to show how little justice there was in such a vote of thanks. He asserted that the battle of Talavera had neither succeeded in attaining the general object of the campaign, nor the immediate object, that of dispersing the enemy's army. As to the general object of the campaign, he considered it to be that of driving the enemy's troops before him, and obtaining possession of Madrid, the capital: now the French troops in Spain, at that time, occupied a defensive line of positions from Toledo to Salamanca. On the advance of Lord Wellington into Spain, they left their positions and concentrated their forces to oppose him. Lord Wellington then marched in the direction of Madrid as far as Talavera; where he was obliged to stop for want of provisions and the means of transport. The battle was fought, and the enemy for the moment repulsed. But the general object of the advance into Spain was lost. The enemy retained possession of the capital, and the British troops were obliged to retreat. It had been said that Lord Wellington had displayed great skill in the dispositions he had made for battle. Lord Grey would not agree in that opinion. The position on the left had not been sufficiently secured or taken advantage of, and there was much also to blame in the conduct of Lord Wellington, with respect to the Spanish troops; certainly the despatch of the Spanish general gave a very different account of the conduct of those troops, from that given in the despatch of Lord Wellington. But if Lord Wellington believed the Spanish troops to be of such a description that they could not be trusted

to meet the enemy in a situation of such imminent peril at Talavera; if Lord Wellington held such an opinion of the Spanish troops, why did he give the Spanish general the option of defending the passes against the advance of the French army under the *Duke of Dalmatia*, which threatened the flank and rear of the British, or taking care of our sick and wounded at Talavera? Why also had not Lord Wellington better information respecting the defence of these passes? Why trust to the intelligence he received from the Spaniards, neglecting even the ordinary precaution of sending an officer of his own to ascertain whether the passes were properly defended?

To this he added, that his majesty's ministers, at the time they trumpeted forth the battle as a splendid and decisive victory, were in the possession of Lord Wellington's despatches, in which he stated the unfortunate situation of his army, the necessity of retreating, and the difficulties he had to encounter in effecting such a retreat.

We have thus in one view given all the objections which could be raised, either against his lordship, or against the ministry, by those who upon all occasions had disapproved of our engaging in the Spanish cause, and who had never spoken of our armies in Spain, without prophesying disgrace and disaster. It is but common justice, therefore, without adopting the politics of any party, to record the manly and lucid vindication of the gallant Wellington from one who, both in his relative and official capacity, seemed particularly called on for his support.

The Marquis of Wellesley, therefore, after apologizing for his private feelings on the present occasion, when he was called upon to perform a public duty, by vindicating the character and conduct of so near and dear a relative as a brother, began by proceeding to observe that Lord Grey did not seem very clearly to understand the object of Lord Wellington's operations.

On the arrival of his brother in Portugal, he found that the enemy was not only in possession of its northern provinces, but that a plan had been concerted, by which Victor and Soult were to advance from different points into the south. The first object

therefore, was the deliverance of Portugal. The operation, then, by which he expelled Soult was as able, as rapid, and conclusive, as any recorded in the page of history. It was therefore unfair, as some noble lords had done, to describe such an operation merely as an affair with the rear guard of Soult's corps. After this, Lord Wellington immediately proceeded to the south to oppose Victor, who had actually advanced in that direction, but who, on the approach of Lord Wellington, had thought it prudent to retreat. What was the situation of Spain, when Lord Wellington advanced into the country? The supreme central government had been long established, and their authority was generally recognised. The part of the country through which his march lay abounded in resources of every description, nor was it fair to entertain a doubt of the power and disposition of the Spanish government to render them available. The joint request of the supreme junta and General Cuesta to Lord Wellington, was, that he would coöperate with the Spanish army in driving Victor from the Tagus. It was impossible, therefore, for Lord Wellington to refuse his assistance for the attainment of this desirable object, as a refusal on his part would have argued a supposition that the Spanish government was incompetent to perform its duty; and that the country, though full of provisions, was unwilling to supply them.

Besides this, it was impossible to answer for the safety of Portugal, without striking such a blow against Victor as might prevent him from joining, or coöperating, with Soult, or any French corps that might invade that kingdom from the northward.

He then stated, in opposition to Lord Grey's surmises, that the plan agreed upon between the British and Spanish generals was, that the British army, supported by that under Cuesta, should move against Victor's corps, and that in the mean time Vanegas, by a circuitous route, should threaten Madrid, in order, if possible, by this demonstration, to draw off the attention of the French corps under Joseph and Sebastiani, and thus prevent them from making any movement in conjunction with Victor.

The due execution of this plan, in all its parts, he contended, was sufficient to justify Lord Wellington in his expectations of success; and accordingly he advanced against Victor, then at Talavera, on the 22d of July, and soon came in sight of the French army, whom he proposed to attack on the following morning.

At this very moment Victor's corps was totally unsupported by every other, and consisted of no more than 28,000 men. If, therefore, the attack upon Victor had been made on the 23d, as Lord Wellington proposed, the result must have been not only most glorious but most complete. It happened unfortunately, however, that General Cuesta refused to attack the enemy on that day; but for what reason had never been explained; and the consequence was, that Victor retreated, and made his escape on the very night of the 23d, and effected a junction with Joseph and Sebastiani.

And even at the very same time, General Vanegas, who ought to have been at Arganda on the 22d, was so perplexed with orders and counter orders from the junta, that he did not arrive there until the 29th, a day after the battle had been fought.

These things were certainly most unfortunate; but, as his lordship added, against such strange mismanagement what human prudence could provide.

With respect to the political questions connected with our assistance afforded to Spain, the marquis perfectly agreed that there was a necessity for a radical change in the present modes of the Spanish government. It was impossible, however, that such a change could be the work of a day; but we were not, therefore, to abandon the Spaniards to the mercy of their cruel invaders, or to desert them in the crisis of their fortunes.

With respect, indeed, to the battle of Talavera itself, he would say nothing more of it in a military point of view than that the British troops had succeeded in repulsing the attack of a French army almost double their own numbers, the



efforts of which had chiefly been directed against their position.

But with respect to its consequences, he would boldly maintain that this signal defeat had essentially contributed to the main objects of the campaign. For, unless that blow had been struck against Victor, it would have been impossible to prevent the enemy from overrunning the south of Spain, or from making a fresh irruption into Portugal. In fact, it had saved the south of Spain from absolute destruction. It had afforded time to Portugal to organize her army, and to strengthen her military posts. It had also enabled Lord Wellington to take a position where he might derive supplies from Spain at the same time that he drew nearer his own magazines—and, upon the whole, the marquis did not hesitate to say, that his brother was as justly entitled to every distinction that his sovereign had conferred upon him, and to every reward and honour which it was in the power of that house to bestow, as any noble lord who, for his personal services, had obtained the same distinctions, or who sat there by descent from his illustrious ancestors.

After this luminous and liberal exposition, no further opposition was made to the motion as far as it regarded Lord Wellington and his brave army, though Lord Grenville contended that the whole substance of the marquis's speech went to support Lord Grey's motion for papers; and although Lord Liverpool had declared that the present question was to be considered only in reference to the case precisely in point, yet his lordship still contended that the question itself stood on a broader basis, and was in fact whether a British army ought to have been risked in an enterprise which depended so much on Spanish coöperation. This question was none of his seeking; but he must say that even a victory, if attended with calamitous consequences, did not deserve the thanks of that house. He believed that Lord Wellington was fettered by the nature of the service in which he had been sent, and by his instructions; and that the plan, and its calamitous consequences, ought to be attributed to ministers.

An act of parliament was passed for settling an annuity of 2,000*l.* per annum, though not without some opposition in both houses of the legislature; and even on the 20th of February, the day appointed for the second reading of the bill, so strong was the voice of party that a petition was actually presented from the city of London against it. These exertions, however, failed in their effect, and the general voice of the nation hailed the annuity as a just reward to him who was risking life, and spending fortune, in the service of his country.

The disasters on the part of the Spanish arms, at the close of 1809, had induced the supreme junta to undertake more strenuous measures for the purpose of saving the south of Spain, as the French grand army, which was concentrated in December, 1809, in the territory between Madrid and Toledo, was, about the middle of January, drawing near to the Sierra Morena. In consequence of this, the Spaniards selected the best positions in the Sierra for defence, formed entrenchments, erected batteries, intersected the roads by deep cuts in some places, and constructed mines for blowing them up in others. This, however, was not sufficient, as artificial defences merely added to natural ones, and on so extended a line as that presented by the Sierra Morena, can be of but little avail if not defended by determined hearts and active hands; as a large army by its resources will always be able to open other roads, or, if not, to overcome those difficulties when the passes are not defended.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the French army, on the 20th and 21st of January, both cavalry and infantry, forced their way through the mountains, by the common passes, though they found it necessary to adopt a more circuitous route for their heavy artillery. In fact, the Spanish force appointed for the defence of the passes made scarcely any resistance, and the French drove them from their entrenchments with the bayonet; whilst the intersections of the roads, and the difficulties occasioned by the mines, did not present the slightest stoppage to their progress. A great proportion of the Spanish force were taken prisoners, and the remainder dispersed, every warlike store,

and ammunition falling into the hands of the enemy, who immediately directed their march to Cordova and Seville, which, with the greatest part of Andalusia, yielded without resistance.

A force under Sebastiani was next sent towards Grenada, which also fell, after some slight resistance from the Spanish troops under Arrisaga. Grenada was now fortified, and Sebastiani proceeded against Malaga, where a number of priests and monks had been employed night and day in preaching a crusade against the French infidels. The inhabitants of Malaga and its vicinity, a country peculiarly mountainous, had taken up arms, and a capuchin friar was appointed general. All the officers too, were monks, and the effect of religion, added to patriotism, had given the business rather an alarming appearance to the French, particularly as six thousand men had seized the great pass into the mountains, and deep trenches were cut for securing the roads leading to it from the plain.

Sebastiani having set out with the advanced guard of his army from Antequera on the 5th of February, soon drove the patriots from their fortresses in the mountains to Malaga; but there they rallied in a great but disorderly mass, having with them a large train of artillery and a detachment of cavalry. With the most undaunted courage and obstinate valour they withstood the musketry and artillery of the whole French army for a considerable time; but at length a charge of cavalry overpowered them, and they fled leaving fifteen hundred dead on the field of battle; the French entered the city with the fugitives, who kept up the contest for a few moments from the windows of houses and at the crossings of streets, but at length were forced to desist.

The intrusive king had already made his entry into Seville; and the possession of Malaga, added to the other acquisitions of this early campaign, made the French consider themselves as masters of the whole kingdom. In fact, with the exception of Cadiz, whither the supreme junta had retired, there was no place which could offer the least resistance in the centre or south of

the kingdom, though the flame of patriotism was still burning on the eastern coast, and in Catalonia.

Even Cadiz and the Isle of Leon were incapable of defence, and must immediately have fallen without the aid of an English army; yet some unreasonable jealousy on the part of the Spaniards threw numerous obstacles in the way of our affording them that assistance which we were most capable of doing. Even the junta themselves, when in Cadiz, objected to the stay of the troops under General Sherbrooke, who were waiting to disembark at that place, but expressed a wish that they might be sent to Catalonia, and were even absurd enough to require that the British force should be broken into small detachments, to be attached to the Spanish corps in different parts of the Peninsula. And even when they consented to the admission of two British regiments into Cadiz, it was only on a solemn promise that they should not remain within the walls of the fortress, and accordingly they were quartered at Isla, a large town, or suburb to Cadiz, in the Isle de Leon.

On this occasion Mr. Frere, our ambassador, urged the necessity of our possessing some strong post, as a naval point, where reinforcements could be sent, and from which a retreat might take place if necessary; and he stated to them, that if unfortunately the Spanish government should persist in their refusal, still they would not be complained of, or reproached, by England, though at the same time he was forced to say, that if Spain should still remain insensible to what appeared to be so greatly conducive to its own interest, as well as essential to the interests of an English army in Spain, his Britannic majesty would be obliged to withdraw for the present, and leave the contest between Spain and France to the sole military efforts and means of the Spaniards themselves. Still he promised that his majesty would remain faithful to his engagements; and he pointed out to them that Portugal had not hesitated, nor made the smallest objection to the admission of an English force, so that a considerable army was at that very moment in possession of its principal fortresses, and of a convenient port for all necessary purposes; and he further

pointed out to them, that as the British army, with the assistance of the Portuguese, might now be able not only to protect Portugal, but in favourable times and places to cover the adjacent provinces of Spain, so it would be proper, and indeed necessary, that there should be every facility afforded to the British troops wherever they might be engaged in the great and general cause.

The temporising conduct of the central junta had already given great uneasiness to Lord Wellington, who, from all that he had seen of their proceedings, had great reason to fear that in the distribution of the forces, as well as of the different civil and military officers, they paid less regard to the military defence of the country, and the important operations of the campaign, than to miserable intrigues and political objects of very trifling import.

The whole conduct of this junta was, indeed, so childish and absurd, not to say treacherous, that it is not surprising a wish should arise to deprive them of all power, which, however, they were very unwilling to quit the possession of; and so anxious did they seem for its retention, to the exclusion of every other consideration, that it was observed they proceeded with the most studied procrastination in the measures preparatory to the calling a *general cortes* of the whole Spanish nation.

This important measure, however, took place in March, 1810, in opposition to all the intrigues of the interested members of the junta, who at last became such objects, not only of hatred and aversion, but even of contempt and derision, that they were actually afraid to appear in the daytime in the streets of Cadiz, dreading the indignation of an insulted people.

The siege of Cadiz had before this been commenced by the French; for on the 6th of February the hostile army had commenced their blockade by occupying all the land side, with the towns and posts of St. Lucar, Rota, Port St. Mary's, Medina Sidonia, &c. At first the siege was conducted by Joseph Bonaparte himself, he having his head-quarters at St. Mary's, a small town on the northern side of the bay, opposite to Cadiz, and from whence that city, for want of springs in the Isle de Leon, had always been supplied with water; fortunately, however, a pretty

good spring was afterwards discovered at Cadiz, which supplied this deficiency.

At this period the French force amounted to about 50,000 men, and the garrison of Cadiz was not more than about 20,000, of which 4,000 were English, with 1,700 Portuguese. The English and Portuguese, however, were quartered in the Isle de Leon, under the command of Major General Graham; here also was the Spanish army under the Duke of Albuquerque, whilst Cadiz itself was garrisoned by volunteers and the new levies. Indeed, whilst the English fleet possessed the bay of Cadiz, there was no danger to be apprehended for that city on any side except that of the Isle de Leon.

The further progress of the siege it is unnecessary to detail, particularly as even, in the early part of the year, the operations of the English army and the allies were not solely confined to the defence of Cadiz; and it was a part of our general plan to act also on the offensive, by rousing, encouraging, and aiding the natives in a resistance to their invaders.

In the south, in particular, much was done by General Lacey, who, having disembarked at Algesiras with a small force of 5,000 men, had it augmented so much in a few days as to amount to 12,000. In fact, all the inhabitants of the mountainous district, in the south of Andalusia, rose as if by common consent, and all the arms found at Ronda, which had been evacuated by the French, were distributed among them. The business now became very harassing to the French, who, calling these rude sons of liberty *insurgents*, had marched several parties against them, a murderous warfare being carried on by both sides. The Spaniards were, indeed, at last obliged to retreat; but though these mountaineers were defeated in several actions, still they were not conquered. In fact, every British officer who had opportunities of seeing these Spanish mountaineers, agreed in their description of the ferocious and savage appearance and air of these Alpujarese, or natives of the Alpujarra range. Every day they were bringing prisoners into Gibraltar, with the spoils of the Frenchmen they had killed, consisting of horses, helmets,

uniforms, &c. and, indeed, many of themselves became completely metamorphosed, throwing off their ancient dress of sheep skins, and accoutring themselves in French habiliments.

On the Catalonian side of Spain great hopes had been entertained that the patriotic exertions of the people would have been crowned with success; but unfortunately, on the 20th of February, Marshal Augereau so completely defeated General O'Donnel in the neighbourhood of Vich, in Catalonia, that all the efforts of the patriots, in that quarter, were for some time paralyzed.

It is time now to look at the operations of the French army in the north of Spain, and of the army of Portugal, as it was called; as these operations led to the glorious repulse at Busaco, the principal feature of Lord Wellington's campaign in the year 1810.

Early in the year a corps under the command of Junot laid siege to Astorga, and held other places in subjection by a judicious distribution of garrisons; whilst a strong division, under General Bonnet, took possession of Oviedo, the capital, extended itself over the whole province of Asturias, and even threatened to penetrate into Galicia. The guerillas, indeed, kept up a constant warfare against the latter general; but still he was strong enough to have advanced into Galicia, had he not received orders to wait in his then positions until further successes should justify his advance.

About the beginning of March the French corps under the command of Marshal Ney, that under Loison, as well as the division of Kellerman, were in Old Castile, and in positions on the Tormes, with their advanced posts on the Agueda; whilst the advanced posts of the British army, under Brigadier General Crawford, were likewise on the latter river, and between Agueda and the Coa.

On the 12th of April Astorga fell, when 3,500 Spaniards, with English firelocks and wearing English clothes, laid down their arms and were conducted to Barrize, and from thence into France. The whole number of prisoners taken were, however,

about 5,000, (besides 1,500 killed during the siege,) and there were also twenty pieces of cannon captured.

Some jealousies at this period seem to have existed between the French generals; for it is said that Marshal Ney, who was then investing Ciudad Rodrigo, had a considerable degree of apprehension that General Junot, between whom and himself there was some misunderstanding, would not coöperate with him for the reduction of the city, with all the cordiality and promptitude which the circumstance demanded: but Junot, notwithstanding, joined him after the capture of Astorga, and in the mean time Marshal Massena set out from Paris in order to take the command of the army appointed for the conquest of Portugal, forming a force of 80,000 men.

The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo had long been retarded and obstructed by heavy rains, bad roads, and the difficulties in the way of the transportation of stores and provisions, considerably increased by Lord Wellington with the allied army being in its vicinity; but at length the French trenches were opened on the 15th of June, just as Massena had arrived to take the command of the army.

Situated as Lord Wellington was, he could not with propriety advance for its relief; his manœuvres being strictly defensive, and his army totally unable to cope with that of Massena as assailants, though his superior skill, and the energy of his troops, soon after enabled him to choose and to defend the position of Busaco, with additional honour to the British arms.

In consequence the city was completely invested by a body of troops under Ney on the right bank of the Agueda, and by another under Junot on the left; whilst a detachment was sent from the latter corps towards St. Felix to watch and check the motions of the allies, and to cover the operations of the siege.

In the morning of the 25th of June, forty-six pieces of heavy artillery were opened at once upon this ill-fated city, soon proving too heavy for the Spanish fire, though the garrison, who were well supplied with artillery, served their batteries ex-



tremely well, and poured such a shower of shot and shells upon the assailants that, in order to cover their advances, they found it necessary to attack two convents, which were not easily given up, but taken and retaken several times, until at last they were partly burnt, after which the French were able to retain them.

Though possession was obtained soon after of the suburbs of St. Francis, yet it was not without obstinate resistance; and though on the 28th the works were so much damaged that the French sent in a summons, yet both the garrison and inhabitants, roused by the monks to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, appeared determined to resist to the last extremity. But a breach was at length made on the 9th of July, when the explosion of a mine unfortunately threw the whole counterscarp into the ditch below the breach, then about eighteen fathoms in width; and on the 10th in the evening, the whole French army advancing to the assault, the garrison was obliged to surrender at discretion. Even the French were struck with the appearance of desolation and ruin which was seen on all sides; indeed, scarcely a house was to be met with that was entire, or exempt from some marks of the horrors of the siege. Upwards of 2,000 lost their lives, and the remainder of the garrison, to the number of 7,000, were obliged to deposite their arms in the arsenal, where the French found 125 pieces of cannon, mostly bronze, with 200,000 pounds weight of powder, and more than one million of musket cartridges, as stated by Massena in his despatches.

After the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, parties of reconnoissance were sent out from the French to examine the positions of Lord Wellington's army, whose advanced posts now fell back upon the main body, as absolute offensive operations were not to be undertaken against a force so numerous as that of the invading army, which consisted of nearly 110,000 men, according to the French account, which, if true, adds more to the fame of his lordship in having kept at bay such an overwhelming force, and obliging them at last to retreat.

The distribution of this force will serve to elucidate the im-

portant events now about to take place. General Loison with 15,000 men invested Almeida, whilst the remainder of Ney's corps, about 10,000, were at Fort de la Conception. About three miles N. W. from Ciudad Rodrigo, at St. Felix, was Junot with 25,000 men, whilst a force to the same amount was in Ciudad Rodrigo, and its immediate vicinity. These three corps were within two days' march of the allied army, and some part of them not more than seven or eight miles distant, whilst Massena, the commander in chief, was at Valdemula, a village near Ciudad Rodrigo, which a few weeks before had been occupied by Lord Wellington. Kellerman was on the north of Portugal, and threatened Oporto with 12,000 men; and Regnier menaced Alentejo in the south with about 18,000; whilst the remaining small divisions occupied such posts as were most convenient for procuring forage, &c.

With such an overwhelming force, it is not surprising that Massena and his imperial master should have considered the conquest of Portugal as certain; yet even such a force, we shall now see, was baffled by the superior skill and address of the British general, whose defensive conduct in this situation seems more worthy of admiration than even his most brilliant victories.

It may be necessary to premise, without going very far back, that ever since the retreat after the battle of Talavera, in the preceding year, the plan of Lord Wellington had been to avoid any further active coöperation with the Spanish army until it was better organized; but at the same time he resolved not to retire from Spain, unless obliged by absolute necessity. Should that even be the case, still he determined, if possible, to make a stand on the Portuguese frontier, where his army would be as serviceable to the cause of Spain as if actually in that country; and, accordingly, he took post between Merida and Badajoz for some time, until he found it necessary to retire for the defence of Portugal.

In the early part of the present year (1810) the British army was principally about Lisbon, and on the north side of the Tagus, when, having gained a fresh stock of health, by good quarters,

they were able, in February, to occupy an extended line from Santarem on the Tagus to Oporto on the Douro, including Lamego, Viseu, Coimbra, and Abrantes, having been joined by the Portuguese troops so ably disciplined by the gallant and indefatigable Marshal Beresford: whilst General Hill was in advance with a considerable body of cavalry, on the banks of the Guadiana, in order to check the approach of the enemy, who had appeared before Badajoz.

During the operations of the French against Ciudad Rodrigo, the British and allied army was cantoned in five distinct bodies; one was at Celorico, consisting of about 6,000 men under General Spencer; General Hill had 8,000 between the Tagus and the Guadiana; General Cole had about 10,000 at Guarda, which was the principal post; at Pinhel General Picton lay with 4,000; and General Crawford was stationed in advance, between Guarda and the French army.

On the 4th of July the enemy passed the Agueda in force, and obliged Brigadier General Crawford to fall back with his advanced guard to the neighbourhood of the fort of La Concepcion, which had previously been occupied by a part of the third division of infantry.

In this movement, however, the enemy were not allowed to act quietly; but were annoyed by repeated skirmishing with considerable effect by the 1st hussars, and by the 3d battalion of Portuguese chasseurs, who, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Elder, displayed great steadiness in frequent rencontres with the French.

Whilst the enemy were in such force, Lord Wellington could only watch their movements, and that so closely that frequent skirmishes took place between the piquets of the two armies.

The advanced posts of the British army under Brigadier General Crawford remained in the villages, near the fort of La Concepcion, until the 21st of July, when the advance of the enemy in force obliged the cavalry to retire towards Almeida, and the fort of La Concepcion was consequently destroyed.

From the 21st until the 24th, General Crawford still continued

to occupy his main position (in advance of the British army then at Alverca) near Almeida, with his left within eight hundred yards of the fort, and his right extending towards Junca. But the enemy attacking him on the 24th, shortly after daylight, with a very large body of cavalry and infantry, he was obliged to retire across the bridge over the Coa. In this point of retreat the troops suffered much; but, though the enemy made three efforts to storm the bridge, they were repulsed in them all.

The retreat of the British advance enabled the enemy to open their fire upon Almeida, late on Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning of the 26th of July, and the place was surrendered in the course of the night of the 27th.

Lord Wellington seems to have been disappointed by the speedy fall of this place; for in his public despatches he expressed not only his regret, but his inability to account for so trifling a defence. An explosion in the town had, indeed, been heard at the advanced posts during the course of the day on the 27th, and it was observed that the steeple of the church was destroyed, and many houses unroofed by the bombardment; but although a telegraphic communication had been established with the governor, yet the weather not permitting it to be used during the Sunday, and the greatest part of the next day, Lord Wellington, on its clearing up, had the mortification to see that the besieged and the assailants were in communication. As soon as he was certain of the fall of the place, he moved the infantry of the British army again into the valley of the Mondego, keeping a division upon Guarda, and the outposts of the cavalry at Alverca.

In the morning of the 21st of August, the enemy attacked the British piquets twice, but feebly, and were immediately repulsed; yet in the afternoon they obliged Sir Stapleton Cotton to draw in his posts from beyond Fraxedas.

Lord Wellington now discovered Massena's plan, which was gradually unfolding itself. He seemed determined to turn the left of the allied army; but Lord Wellington, to check him, retired through the valley of Mondego, when Massena, adopting a new route, threw himself in the road which leads from Viseu to

Coimbra, in hopes of getting possession of the resources presented by that city and its vicinity, and thence to proceed to Lisbon. Lord Wellington immediately determined to cover Coimbra; not with the intention of maintaining that post, but in order to give the inhabitants time to retire with their effects.

Though Massena had concentrated the greatest part of his forces at Viseu on the 21st of September, yet a halt of three days was absolutely necessary in order to give time for the bringing up the baggage and the artillery; and it was during these three days that Lord Wellington was enabled to execute the judicious and brilliant manœuvre of passing from the left to the right of the Mondego, and then taking up his position on the Sierra de Busaco. At that period the head-quarters of the British army were at Celorico; but Lord Wellington found it prudent to retire towards Viseu, on which the French army under Massena continued to advance from Celorico upon the latter position. During these operations, the different corps of Portuguese militia, and ordenanza, were employed upon his flanks and rear, and Colonel Trant with his division attacked the escort of the military chest and reserve artillery near Tojal on the 20th of September. In this affair Colonel Trant succeeded so far as to take about one hundred prisoners; but the enemy collected a force from his front and rear, which obliged the colonel to retire towards the Douro. Notwithstanding this, the exertions of the different detached corps were so great, that Lord Wellington felt himself justified in saying that the enemy's communication with Almeida, in his rear, was not only cut off, but that he possessed only the ground on which his army stood.

In this juncture, Lord Wellington found it necessary, about the middle of September, to adopt measures to collect his army in the vicinity of Coimbra, and, if possible, to prevent the enemy from getting possession of that town.

Whilst employed in perfecting this manœuvre, the enemy's advanced guard, on the 21st, pushed on to St. Cambadao at the junction of the rivers Criz and Dao; and Brigadier General Pack retired across the former, and joined Brigadier General

Crawford at Martagoa, having destroyed the bridges over those two rivers.

The enemy's advanced guard crossed the Criz, having repaired the bridge on the 23d; and the whole of the 6th corps was collected on the other side of the river; on which his lordship withdrew the cavalry through the Sierra de Busaco, with the exception of three squadrons, as the ground was unfavourable for the operations of that species of force.

On the 25th the whole of the 6th and of the 2d corps of the enemy crossed the Criz, in the neighbourhood of St. Cambadao; and Brigadier General Crawford's division and Brigadier General Pack's brigade retired to the position which had been fixed upon for the army on the top of Sierra de Busaco. These troops were followed in this movement by the whole of the corps of Ney and Regnier, but the manœuvre was conducted by Brigadier General Crawford with great regularity, and the troops took their position without sustaining any loss of importance.

The 4th Portuguese Caçadores, which had retired on the right of the other troops, and the piquets of the 3d division of infantry, which were posted at San Antonio de Cantaro, under Major Smith of the 45th, were engaged with the advance of Regnier's corps in the afternoon of the 25th; in which affair the Caçadores gained great credit for their steadiness and gallantry.\*

As the enemy's whole army was on the ridge of the Mondego,

\* To understand thoroughly the subsequent occurrences connected with the brilliant affair of *Busaco*, it is necessary to premise that the *Sierra de Busaco* is a lofty ridge of mountains extending from the Mondego about eight miles in a northerly direction. At the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from the termination, are the convent and garden of Busaco. This sierra is connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Sierra de Camarula, which extends in a northeasterly direction beyond Visau, and separates the valley of the Mondego from the valley of the Douro, on the left of the Mondego. Nearly in a line with the Sierra de Busaco is another ridge of the same description, which is called the Sierra de Marcella, covered by the river Alva, and connected by other mountainous tracts with the Sierra d'Estrella.

All the roads to Coimbra from the eastward lead over one or other of these sierras; and they are very difficult for the passage of an army; the approach to the top of the ridge on both sides being very mountainous.

and as it was evident that he intended to force the British position, Lieutenant General Hill crossed that river, by a short movement to his left, on the morning of the 26th, leaving Colonel Le Cor with his brigade in the Sierra de Marcella to cover the right of the army ; and Major General Fane with his division of Portuguese cavalry, and the 13th light dragoons in front of the Alva, to observe and check the movements of the enemy's cavalry on the Mondego.

With this exception, the whole British army was collected upon the Sierra de Busaco, with the cavalry observing the plain in the rear of its left, and also the road leading from Martagoa to Oporto. through the mountainous tract which connects the Sierra de Busaco with the Sierra de Caramula.

The eighth corps joined the enemy in front on the 26th, but did not make any serious attack on that day ; however, the light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line.

But on the 27th the GRAND ATTACK was made ; for, at six in the morning of that day, the enemy commenced two desperate assaults on the British position ; one on the right, the other on the left, of the highest point of the sierra.

The attack on the right was made by two divisions of the 2d corps, on that part of the sierra occupied by the 3d division of infantry. One division of French infantry arrived at the top of the ridge, when it was attacked in the most gallant manner by the 88th regiment under the command of the honourable Lieutenant Colonel Wallace, and the 45th regiment under the command of the honourable Lieutenant Colonel Meade, and by the 8th Portuguese regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Douglas, directed by Major General Picton.

These three corps advanced with the bayonet, and drove the enemy's division from the advantageous ground which they had obtained.

The other division of the 2d corps attacked further on the right, by the road leading from St. Antonio de Cantaro, also in front of Major General Picton's division. This division of the assailants was repulsed before it could reach the top of the ridge,

by the 74th regiment under the command of the honourable Lieutenant Colonel French, and the brigade of Portuguese infantry under the command of Colonel Champelmont, directed by Colonel Mackinnon.

Major General Leith\* almost moved to his left, to the support of Major General Pieton, and aided in the defeat of the enemy on this post, with the 3d battalion of the royals, and the 1st and 2d battalions of the 38th regiment.

On the left the enemy attacked, with three divisions of infantry of the 6th corps, that part of the sierra occupied by the left division commanded by Brigadier General Crawford, and by the brigade of Portuguese infantry commanded by Brigadier General Pack. One division of infantry only made any progress towards the top of the hill, and they were immediately charged with the bayonet by Brigadier General Crawford with the 48th, 52d, and 95th regiments, and the 3d Portuguese Caçadores, and driven down with immense loss.

Brigadier General Clement's brigade of Portuguese infantry, which was in reserve, was now moved up to support the right of Brigadier General Crawford's division; and a battalion of the 19th Portuguese regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Macbean, made a most gallant and successful charge upon a body of another division of the enemy, which was endeavouring to penetrate in that quarter.

Besides these general attacks, the light troops of the two armies were engaged throughout the whole of the 27th.

In the evening of the 27th the enemy were beaten on all

\* General Leith has been particularly noticed in the army for a singular circumstance. When a very young officer, he was engaged in some expedition in India, where he was badly wounded, nay, left for dead, on the troops being forced to re-embark, but was observed by a soldier who returned through the surf, and carried him off from the beach, just as the last boat was pushing off. Several years afterwards, when the general commanded in Dublin, he saw an aged man in distressed circumstances, whose face he thought he recollected, and on inquiry found it to be the very man who had saved his life!

Gratitude, aided by generosity, immediately provided for the veteran.



sides; and his loss of officers and men was enormous. The generals of division, Merle and Maucere were wounded, General Simon was taken prisoner by the 52d regiment, along with three colonels, thirty-three other officers, and two hundred and fifty men. The assailants left 2,000 dead upon the field of battle, and their loss in wounded was stated both by prisoners and deserters to be immense.

So signal was the defeat, so severe the lesson taught, that the enemy did not attempt to renew his attack on the succeeding day, except by some slight skirmishing with his light troops; but he was seen to move a large body of infantry and cavalry from the left of his centre to the rear, from whence his cavalry was observed to march in the road which leads from Martagoa over the mountains towards Oporto.

Lord Wellington having thought it probable that he would endeavour to turn the left of the British by that road, had directed Colonel Trant, with his division of militia, to march to Sardao, with the intention that he should occupy those mountains; but, unfortunately, he was sent round to Oporto by the general officer commanding in the north, in consequence of a small detachment of the enemy being in possession of St. Pedro de Sul; and, notwithstanding the efforts which he made to arrive in time, he did not reach Sardao till the 28th at night, after the enemy was in possession of the ground.

As his lordship judged it probable that in the course of the night of the 28th the enemy would throw his whole army upon that road, by which he could avoid the Sierra de Busaco, and reach Coimbra by the high road to Oporto, and thus the British army would have been exposed to be cut off from that town, or to a general action on less favourable ground; and as he also considered that he had reinforcements in his rear, he was induced to withdraw from the Sierra de Busaco towards Coimbra.

As Lord Wellington expected, Massena did break up in the mountains at eleven at night of the 28th, and he made the march to the left of the range of mountains, certainly in spite of any opposition that could be thrown in his way, owing principally to

the unfortunate circumstance of the delay of Colonel Traut's arrival at Sardoal.

In consequence of this, although Lord Wellington did not absolutely succeed in effecting those objects which he had in view in passing the Mondego, and in occupying the Sierra de Busaco, yet he did not regret his having done so. In fact, he considered this movement as affording him a favourable opportunity of showing the enemy the description of troops of which his army was composed; he also was pleased with the opportunity of thus bringing the Portuguese levies into action with the enemy for the first time, in an advantageous situation; and indeed he confessed that they had proved that the trouble which had been taken with them had not been thrown away, and that they were even then worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops, in that interesting cause which he considered them as affording the best hopes of saving.

To show that his lordship's expectations were correct, and that his warm praise of the conduct of the British troops was well founded, it is only necessary to examine the state of the losses of the allied army during the gallant affair of Busaco, when compared with those of the enemy.

The sum total was of the British, 1 major, 4 other officers, and 102 sergeants and rank and file killed; 3 lieutenant-colonels, 5 majors, 27 other officers, and 458 sergeants and rank and file wounded; with 1 captain, 1 sergeant, and 29 rank and file missing.

Of the Portuguese, the loss amounted to 4 captains, 2 subalterns, and 84 rank and file killed; 1 colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 18 subalterns, 9 sergeants, and 478 rank and file wounded; and 20 missing.

A loss equal to that of the British, and proving that they had been as warmly engaged.\*

\* In speaking of the Portuguese discipline, we must not omit to mention the due praise given by Lord Wellington to Marshal Beresford. To him exclusively, under the Portuguese government, he considered solely due the

Lord Wellington proudly boasted in his public despatches that throughout the contest upon the sierra, and in all the previous marches, his army had conducted itself in the most regular manner. Accordingly, all the operations were performed with ease, the soldiers suffered no privations, and underwent no unnecessary fatigue; there was no loss of stores, and the whole body of troops were in the highest spirits. Some days after the action it was ascertained that Massena's advanced post was at Avelans, in the road from Oporto to Coimbra; and on the 29th of September the whole of his army was seen in march through the mountains; whilst at the same date, or the day following, the British and Portuguese allied troops were already in the low country between the Sierra de Busaco and the sea; and the whole of it, with the exception of the advanced guard, were on the 30th of that month on the left of the Mondego.

On the 20th of October the whole allied army were at Pero Negro; but previous to that, in the early part of the month, the enemy were principally employed in reconnoitring the position of the British troops, and in strengthening their own posts. In effecting the former object they had on several occasions skirmished with the outposts, who in every instance conducted themselves extremely well.

When Lord Wellington determined to return to Torres Vedras, where he occupied the French army until they were forced to retreat, he determined to clear the country of every thing, of which Massena complained loudly, saying, "The enemy burns and destroys every thing as he evacuates the country. He forces the inhabitants to abandon their homes under pain of death. Coimbra, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, is deserted. *We find no provisions.* The army is subsisted on Indian corn, and vegetables, which we found remaining on the ground."

merit of having raised, formed, disciplined, and equipped, the Portuguese army, which had thus shown itself capable of engaging, and assisting in the defeat of the enemy.

It is indeed very true that every soul in Coimbra fled, leaving it literally a desert: for the order of the Portuguese regency was positive for all to leave their houses, carry off all their goods, or destroy them, and leave nothing for the enemy. The Lisbon road was blocked up with wagons, carts, mules, horses, and bullocks; mothers, their eyes streaming with tears, carrying their screaming infants; young women of genteel condition, also in tears, on foot, and separated in the crowd from their families; men with heavy hearts but in silent sorrow, and every thing wearing an air of trouble and confusion. All the roads from St. Thomar, and the other neighbouring towns, to Lisbon, were in like manner full of men, women, and children, with what effects they could bring along with them.

Yet, dreadful as the scene was, we must recollect that their sufferings on the approach of the French army, if they had remained, would have been infinitely worse: and as their distress was partly incurred in the general cause of the Portuguese nation; so the government, as well as private families in Lisbon, did all they could to alleviate it. An asylum was found for all; lodgings and food were procured, and every thing done which could afford relief; whilst the British house of commons voted 100,000*l.* for their relief, to which was added an equal sum from private contribution.

In this position of the British army, on the navigable part of the Tagus, the communication, in a military point of view, was now opened with the British fleet laying in that river; and accordingly the gun-boats, which Admiral Berkeley had placed under the command of his nephew, Lieutenant Berkeley, had supported the right of the army near Alhandra, and having been several times engaged with the enemy's reconnoitring parties, had proved of great service.

Though, in consequence of the retrograde movement of the British army after the affair of Busaco, the enemy had been enabled to take possession of Coimbra, yet he was not permitted to hold it long; for Colonel Trant having arrived near that place with his detachment on the 7th of October, he imme-

diately attacked the outposts, which he cut off from the town, and then pushing in, took possession of it. The resistance made by the enemy did not last long, and the colonel took eighty officers and five thousand men (principally sick and wounded) prisoners.

On the following day Brigadier General Miller and Colonel Wilson arrived at Coimbra with their detachments; and between that and the 20th they took about three hundred and fifty prisoners, being soldiers who had straggled from their regiments on the enemy's march, as they themselves stated, in search of food.

That the enemy at this period must have been suffering extremely is also evident from another fact, that a detachment from the garrison of Peniché, sent out by Brigadier General Blunt, under Captain Fenwick, had been successful in a similar manner, and had brought in forty-eight prisoners, made from stragglers in the rear of the enemy's army, having killed nine; whilst Lieutenant Colonel Waters, who had been employed with small detachments of cavalry and infantry in the enemy's rear, had been alike fortunate. In short, as his lordship observed in one of his despatches, the difficulties which the whole of Massena's army experienced in procuring subsistence, owing to their having invaded Portugal without magazines, and having adopted no measures for the security of their rear, or of their communication with Spain, had rendered it necessary for the soldiers to straggle in search of provisions; and not a day passed without deserters or prisoners being brought in.

At this period every thing remained quiet in the north of Portugal,\* and in the south of Spain Marshal Mortier had retired

\* The situation of the unhappy Portuguese at this period may be drawn from a proclamation of Lord Wellington of the 4th of August, in which he observes—

“ The inhabitants of some villages have remained in them, confiding in the promises of the enemy, and hoping that by treating the enemies of their country well, they might conciliate and mollify them, and inspire them with humane sentiments; that their property would be respected, their females preserved from brutal violation, and their lives secured. Vain hopes!

from Zafra and Los Santos, and fallen back upon Seville with his army, in which march General Ballasteros had followed him to the vicinity of Castello de las Guardias, whilst the Portuguese and Spanish cavalry had moved on from the Guadiana towards the Sierra Morena.

Though the winter was now approaching, yet Lord Wellington seems to have been indefatigable in the concentration of all the disposable forces; and accordingly having, in the early part of the month, also put the infantry of the Marquis de la Romana's corps in motion for the purpose of a junction with his army, they crossed the Tagus in the morning of the 19th, and were well advanced to unite whenever it should be found necessary.

Soon after this the enemy detached some troops towards Santarem, and on the 23d of October General Loison marched towards that place with the division under his command, whilst a body of the enemy's infantry and cavalry marched into Thomar on the same day.

About this period the reports which Lord Wellington received, from the deserters and prisoners brought in, all concurred in the accounts of the distress felt by the enemy, through the want of provisions of all descriptions. These people stated also that the French army were busily employed in collecting and preparing materials to construct a bridge over the Tagus; it was something very extraordinary, however, that this was done with great privacy; for, although the British army had a good view of that river, from different points of the ground which they occupied, and had officers and others employed on the left of the Tagus to watch the motions of the enemy; yet, even up to the latter end of October, it had been impossible either to discover where this

The inhabitants of these submissive places have suffered all the evils which a cruel enemy could inflict; their property has been plundered, their habitations burnt, their women atrociously violated, and those whose age or sex did not provoke the brutal violence of the soldiers, have fallen victims to the imprudent confidence which they placed in promises made only to be broken."

work was carrying on, or where the bridge was to be placed on the river when constructed.

The French appeared, however, very anxious to collect boats, and on the 24th they endeavoured, by the fire of artillery, to drive a party of the ordenanza from Chamusca, in order to obtain possession of some that were in that place; but in this they did not succeed.

In fact, to have pushed on a business of this kind might have brought on a general action, for which they were not prepared, and to which they did not feel themselves competent; at the same time, notwithstanding this, it still seems to have been most prudential conduct on the part of Lord Wellington not to court an action, as the enemy were then suffering as much as they could well have done after a defeat; for on the side of Obidos and Ramelhal, the British cavalry and a battalion of Spanish light infantry, with the troops of the garrison of Peniché actually confined their detachments within very small limits, so that they really possessed no part of the country, except that on which their army stood.

In the early part of November, Lord Wellington, with his army, was still at Pero Negro. The state and position of the enemy also had been but little varied; they still had a considerable body of troops, chiefly cavalry, on the Tagus, between Punhete and Santarem, and they had also pushed some corps across the Zezere above Punhete, principally cavalry, apparently with the design of reconnoitring the roads in that direction, and the fort at Abrantes. They were now found to be at work preparing a bridge at Santarem and Barquinha for the destruction of which Major General Fane was detached from the British army with a body of cavalry and infantry to the left of the Tagus, in case he should find it practicable.

So great was the distress of the enemy by the middle of November,\* and so well planned and faithfully executed were the

\* His lordship in his despatches of the 3d of November had said, "It is reported by all the deserters that the enemy's troops continue to suffer great distress from the want of provisions."

dispositions of Lord Wellington in confining them for upwards of a month in their old position, with their right at Sobral, and their left resting upon the Tagus, that they found it necessary to retire on the night of the 14th of November, going off by the road of Alenquer, towards Alcoentre with their right, and Villa Nova with their left, and continuing their route to Santarem on the succeeding days.

Lord Wellington's information was so correct, indeed he himself watched them so closely, that this movement was instantly known; and on the very next morning (the 15th) the allied army broke up from their position, and followed the march of the enemy. So rapid was this harassing pursuit, though still with great prudence avoiding a battle, that the British advanced guard was at Alenquer on the same day, and the cavalry and advanced guard at Azambuga and Alcoentre on the 16th, and at Cartaxo on the 17th.

In these movements about four hundred prisoners were made by pressing hard upon the enemy's rear; the advance being followed closely up by Sir Brent Spencer's division, and the 5th division of infantry under Major General Leith.

Lord Wellington on the 17th of November received accounts from Major General Fane (who had been detached to the left of the Tagus to look after the enemy's bridges) that the bridge over the Zezere, which he had been sent to destroy, had been carried away by the floods, but that another had been constructed across the Zezere, and that they had on that day marched a large body of troops from Santarem towards Golegan.

In consequence of this information, his lordship with great promptitude passed Lieutenant General Hill's corps across the Tagus at Valada, in the boats which Admiral Berkeley had sent up the river in order to assist and to facilitate the various operations of the army on that river.

"It is impossible to form an estimate of the quantity of provisions which they found in the villages on the ground which they occupy; but it is certain that they can draw none from any other part of the country, the whole being in the possession of our troops."



The skill and patience displayed by Lord Wellington during the whole of these manœuvres were such as completely to defeat all the plans of the enemy; for being himself obliged to act on the defensive, in order to bring them to a stand, he had so completely strengthened the works of his position, as to render an attack upon the line occupied by the allied army very doubtful, if not entirely hopeless; whilst at the same time his dispositions were so judiciously made as to keep the enemy in check on all sides, but that on which they finally retreated; and even there it was impossible for them to keep up any communication whatever with the country, sufficient to ensure them the necessary supplies. Could they have crossed the Tagus, a fertile country would have been within their reach; but this they could not do without bridges or boats, to procure either of which they were unable whilst the river was in British possession.

There is no situation in which an army more particularly requires the constant superintendence of its commander in chief, than when it is comparatively in a state of quiescence; but, even in this state, the dispositions of Lord Wellington were so judicious, that, during the month he lay behind his lines, the effective strength of his army in proportion to its total numbers had wonderfully increased; in fact, there was no sickness of any importance, and above one half of those stated as sick in the military returns were convalescents, who were very considerably detained at Belem, and the other hospitals, until they had completely gained their strength so as to bear the fatigue of marching, and of the other duties of the field.

Much praise was also due to his lordship for his arrangements respecting his allies; for, in addition to the Portuguese force, the Marquis de la Romana had also joined the allied army in their positions in front of Lisbon, with a considerable detachment of the Spanish army under his command; yet throughout the whole period during which these positions were occupied, every thing went on with the utmost regularity, and the most satisfactory precision, notwithstanding that the force was thus composed of troops of various descriptions, and of different nations.

Up to the early part of December, the enemy continued their retreat, closely followed, as prudence and enterprise dictated, by the British army: and about this period a detachment commanded by General Gardanne, and which had returned to Sobreira Formosa, as if unwilling to quit Portugal, thought proper to resume their march to the frontier, and to enter Spain.

So closely were they watched, however, that they had no opportunity of forming any communication with the enemy's troops on the left of the Zezere, though at one time only three leagues distant from them.

General Gardanne, indeed, seems to have had some particular object in view, though it was frustrated by the different positions of the British army; for having lost some prisoners taken by a patrol, and a party of the *ordinanza*, which accompanied the honourable Lieutenant Colonel Ponsonby on a reconnoissance from Abrantes to the river Codes, it was understood that the enemy had made very particular inquiries respecting the position of Lieutenant General Hill's corps, and the means which the allies possessed of crossing the Tagus at Abrantes; after which, having commenced their march from Cardigos towards Codes in the morning, they retired a few hours after with great precipitation, and continued their retreat in the same manner until they reached the frontier.

In this retreat they were followed by the *ordinanza*, who not only did them much mischief, but succeeded in capturing a great part of their baggage; and so much were they harassed, even by this irregular force, that they destroyed many horses and mules which could not keep up with them; and their whole march, as Lord Wellington observed, if it was ordered by the supreme authority, and was connected with any other arrangement, had every appearance, and was attended by all the consequences, of a precipitate and forced retreat.

With respect to the main body of the enemy's army, however, which was still in front of the British position at Cartaxo, no particular alteration took place up to the 15th of December, except the detaching a body of cavalry, consisting of four regiments, towards

Coimbra; but finding that town occupied by General Bacellar, they soon returned to their station in the rear of the right of their army, which, from all the accounts brought in by prisoners and deserters, continued to suffer severely; whilst the British army, though acting on the defensive, were in possession of as many comforts as were compatible with such a state of warfare.

Santarem was at this period the head-quarters of the French army, (as Cartaxo was of the British,) and they had about the 22d of December been able to collect some boats on the Zezere, over which river they had also thrown two or three bridges; and, towards the latter end of the month, those detachments which had retired from Lower Beira, in the early part of December, crossed the Coa, and moved into the upper Beira, by the roads of Pinhel and Trancoso, and of Alverca and Celorico. This seems to have been something of a forward movement on the part of the enemy, but the whole force did not consist of more than sixteen or seventeen thousand men, being partly Gardanne's division, with some other troops; their progress, however, was by no means rapid, and their advanced posts, even on the 22d, had not got further than Maceira, in the valley of the Mondego.

Though Lord Wellington still deemed any active operations on his part imprudent, yet he had made every disposition for active warfare, whenever it was practicable. Accordingly, in the latter end of the year, though General Silveira had retired with his division of troops to Mor Monto de Beira, yet he, and General Miltre, and Colonel Wilson, were prepared to act across the Mondego, upon the flanks and rear of the enemy when occasion should require it.

At the close of the year, Lord Wellington still pursued the same defensive warfare which had hitherto been so successful; and although there were some appearances of a turn of fortune in favour of the French, yet he was firm in adhering to his plan, and never for a moment doubted of its success. We cannot give a more faithful picture of events at this period, than from a recent statement, which tells us that the ardour and activity of

Lord Wellington were suitable to the importance of the crisis. He was very sparing in his diet, and slept in his clothes. He was up every morning at four o'clock, and at five he rode out and visited his advanced posts.\* The noble enthusiasm with which he was actuated was infused into his army by sympathy. The whole country, indeed, was under arms. Every thing at Lisbon was military. The city was garrisoned by marines from the English fleet; and the garrison of Lisbon was sent to reinforce the army, which was also augmented by the arrival of 10,000 Spaniards, under the Marquis of Romana. The greater part of the British troops had arrived from Cadiz; and the seamen and marines were also landed from the fleet, to assist in working the guns in the batteries. The banks of the Tagus, on the right of the British lines, were flanked by the armed launches, and seven sloops of war were sent up the river; whilst extensive works were raised on the south side of the Tagus, to cover the river and protect the shipping. On the same side of the river, too, the Peninsula, formed by a creek or small bay at Moita, near Aldea Gallega on the Tagus, and the bay of St. Ubes, was cut off from the French by a double line of fortifications, mounted with very heavy artillery, and manned, partly, by a body of 3,000 seamen; on account of which the French were prevented from advancing to Almada opposite to Lisbon, even if they should be able to cross the river, which at one time was supposed to be

\* If the French suffered from privation the British also were not without their inconveniences; but the following extract from a military letter will show something of a soldier's life.

"Cartaxo, 29th November. The French take all the vegetables and eatables they can carry away. We are but poorly off here, and a good deal harassed. Scarce a house is left in the country with a door or window shutter—Windows are out of the question. A board or two serves for a table, and he is a lucky fellow who can find a chair or stool to sit on; beds we do not presume to think of. Since we have left Lisbon, I have never taken off more than coat, stock, and shoes, and put on my boat cloak, and hairy cap, and am glad if I can get a place to lie down dry, which has not always been the case. We can get nothing but our rations, except what comes from Lisbon—We live cheap."

their intention: and on that side of the Tagus were posted the corps of Generals Hill and Beresford.

Torres Vedras, however, formed the main defence. This was the grand line, and Lord Wellington himself lay at Cartaxo with the main body of the British army.

Between these two great military forces was the British fleet in the Tagus, ready to assist on whichever side the attack might be made, and to transport troops when necessary; so that, upon an emergency, a very considerable part of the whole force might be brought into action, even on the shortest notice.

The whole of this scene is most imposing; for though, perhaps, the allies were numerically superior to the French, yet it must be recollected that a great part of their force was as yet very inefficient: but the whole of the two contending armies amounted at least to 180,000 men.

The grand position of the allied army at Torres Vedras was a line of strongly fortified heights, extending from Alhandra on the Tagus, to Torres Vedras, about thirty miles from Lisbon, and from thence to the mouth of the Sissandro. Behind these there were two other lines of trenches and redoubts, extending from Mafra, on the seacoast to the Tagus. One of these, which was nearest to the fortified line of Torres Vedras in front, was capable of defence by 20,000 men; whilst half that number was sufficient for the other.

On all of these there was planted an immense number of artillery; whilst redoubts were raised at Peniché, Obidos, and many other places. Even the hills were fortified; and, on the left of the position, the whole of the coast, from Viniçra to the very mouth of the Tagus, was studded with redoubts mounted with heavy artillery. The right on the Tagus was flanked by the armed boats of the squadron. Mines were ready for springing in many places; and the whole country was one vast fortification, with about 80,000 men well armed and well fed.

Torres Vedras is of itself an old and insignificant town on the Oporto road from Lisbon, and is about two and twenty miles distant from the capital. It stands in a valley, but has some very

important heights in its vicinity; and particularly one conical hill, which commands the town; and having the ruins of an old tower upon it, from thence gives a name to the place.

It must, indeed, be a place of considerable antiquity; for even as early as the Roman times, when it was a colonial præsidium of the people, it had the name of “*Turres Veteres*,” or the *Old Towers*.

Of the lines themselves, we may add, that the first line comprehended thirty-two works, with about one hundred pieces of cannon, and 10,000 infantry. The second line was defended by sixty-five works, 15,000 infantry, and about 200 pieces of artillery: whilst the remainder of the army was employed in keeping up the communication between the lines and the reserve. The grand total, on the 1st of November, 1810, being 107 distinct fortified works, 28,490 infantry, and 444 cannon of all sizes!!!—works to which the labours of Hercules were but as mole hills to mountains!

## SECTION VIII.

Spanish affairs--Fall of Tortosa--Death and character of the Marquis de la Romana--Anecdotes of ditto--Defeat of General Mendizabel--Anecdotes of military enterprise--Affairs of Cadiz--Expedition detached--Anecdotes of Sir Thomas Graham--Battle of Barrosa--Military anecdotes of ditto--Observations on Lord Wellington's policy--Distress and retreat of the French army--Pursued by the British--Gallant affairs with the rear of the French--Defeat of Massena's rear guard at Pombal--Affair of Arronches--Further interesting delineations--Marshal Beresford blockades Badajoz, and defeats the French at Campo Mayor--Anecdotes of the battle--Massena's rear guard defeated at Sabugal--Blockade of Almeida--Attack and repulse of Massena at Fuente d'Honor--Curious anecdotes of Don Julian, the famous Spanish guerilla--Retreat of the garrison of Almeida--Battle of Albuera, and defeat of Soult--Gallantry of the Spanish soldiery--Siege of Badajoz--Two assaults fail--Lord Wellington raises the siege--Junction of the French armies--Lord Wellington blockades Ciudad Rodrigo--Raises the blockade--British rear guard repulses Marmont--Attacks of the French on Fonte Guinaldo--French army repulsed at Aldea de Ponte--Retreat of the French--Honours conferred on Lord Wellington--Gallant enterprise of Don Julian Sanchez--Governor of Ciudad Rodrigo taken--Anecdotes of General Hill--Spirited attack and judicious surprise of General Girard and his detachment, &c. &c. &c.

THE year 1811 has, perhaps, produced more important events than any other of the struggle for independence in the Peninsula.

On the second day of the year General Suchet took possession of Tortosa, after a short siege and very ineffectual defence. It is believed, indeed, that it might have held out a much longer time, particularly as its situation near the mouth of the Ebro rendered it easy to afford it succours from the sea; but its surrender is one of those extraordinary events during this Spanish contest, which it is easier to lament than to account for.

On the 23d of January Soult took possession of Olivenza; and the same day produced an event, even more lamentable for

the Spanish cause, in the death of the gallant Marquis de la Romana.\*

After the death of the marquis, his corps devolved upon Men-

\* Lord Wellington expressed much sorrow for the death of the Marquis de la Romana, who expired at Cartaxo, within the British lines, on the 23d of January, after a short illness. He observed that his talents, his virtues, and his patriotism, were well known: that in him the Spanish army had lost its brightest ornament; his country its most upright patriot; and the world the most strenuous and zealous defender of the cause of liberty; and his lordship added, that he should always acknowledge, with gratitude, the assistance which he had received from him, as well by his operations as his counsel, from the time of his joining the allied army.

Romana was a native of the island of Majorca, and was born at Palma, in 1762, his name Don Pedro Caro y Sureda, a grandee of Spain by descent; and by subsequent services, grand cross of the royal Spanish order of Charles the Third, and captain general of the Spanish armies.

After an education suitable to his birth, during which he made a rapid progress in the learned languages, with the classics of which he was familiarly acquainted, emulous of his father, who died gloriously in the field of honour, in the expedition to Algiers in 1775, he began his military career in the marine guards of the royal Spanish navy, where he continued until the war of the French revolution, being then captain of a frigate. At this time he exchanged his services, and became a colonel in the army of Navarre, commanded by his uncle Don Ventura Caro, then a lieutenant general.

His services were so important, and his abilities so transcendent, that in 1801 he was appointed captain general of Catalonia, and president of the royal audiencia of that province; in which capacity he found many opportunities of displaying his extensive knowledge and sound policy. He afterwards rose to be director general of engineers, and counsellor at war.

The insidious plan which the tyrant of Europe already cherished, led him to withdraw from Spain the Marquis de la Romana with her best troops. In the command of these the marquis displayed an intelligence which is well known, till the situation of his beloved country coming to his knowledge amid the snows of the north, from that moment he vowed to succour her, surmounting, with that view, a thousand dangers and difficulties.

On his arrival in Spain, by his conduct and military skill, he finally succeeded in driving the invaders from Galicia, even to their own astonishment, and to the surprise of all who knew the small means he had at his disposal.

As the recovery of the Spanish forces, which had been so insidiously drawn away by Bonaparte, forms a prominent feature in the history of the Spanish revolution, the following anecdote will not be irrelevant



Elizabeth, who was soon after detached upon a particular service, but was defeated on the 19th of February, by Soult, near the river Geborah.

Whilst the main bodies of the hostile troops were laying in their respective positions, some events took place in the south which deserve particular notice;\* and an important era in the Spanish war

Whilst the Marquis de la Romana and his troops were in Denmark, they were kept in profound ignorance of the situation of their native country, and of the glorious events which had taken place there, notwithstanding the various attempts which had been made on the part of the British naval commander, Sir Richard Keats, to communicate the tidings to him, and to concert the means of escape for himself and troops. At length an enterprising gentleman was found, an ecclesiastic, in whose honour, knowledge and good sense, the firmest confidence could be placed. This gentleman, disguised as a trader of the humblest description, went by way of Heligoland to the place where the marquis and his troops were confined, having encountered such difficulties in his progress as required the utmost caution, patience, and fortitude. At length he overcame all obstacles; and, having ascertained the person of the marquis, he was obliged to watch incessantly for an opportunity of addressing him, without exciting the suspicion of the numerous spies by whom he was surrounded. This agent at last was obliged, as if by accident, to jostle the marquis in the street, in order to attract his attention; and, having done so, he apologized as if ignorant of his rank, and concluded with offering to sell him some excellent coffee. The marquis treated this offer with contempt, and signified that he supposed he was speaking to a *smuggler*. The priest, however, persevered in recommending his coffee; and in the course of the conversation, took an opportunity of intimating that he was not a smuggler but a gentleman. "We'll soon see to that," said the marquis, and then asked him if he could speak Latin. The priest answered in the affirmative, and a conversation ensued apparently about coffee, as the gestures of both were intended to deceive all who might observe them. The marquis was then duly informed of every thing that had occurred in Spain, of the assistance which the British government had rendered, and of its readiness to adopt any measure that was practicable, to effect the rescue of himself and his troops, that they might join their heroic countrymen in resisting the vile attempts of France to enslave them.

The rest of the measures necessary for the attainment of the object in view, and its final success, are well known.

\* An expedition having been determined upon by the Spanish government, to which Lieutenant General Graham, then at Cadiz, had consented to give

was now approaching, which seems to have been foreseen and provided for by Lord Wellington, in his admirable defensive ma-

his personal assistance, together with that of a considerable portion of the troops under his command, Rear Admiral Sir Richard Keats proceeded to afford all the assistance in his power, when a body of upwards of three thousand troops, including cavalry, with various military stores and provisions, were embarked on board of British and Spanish men of war, and as many transports as could be collected belonging to the two nations. With these there were seven thousand Spanish troops embarked, and the whole were assembled in the bay of Cadiz, on the 20th of February, waiting for a favourable opportunity to proceed into the Straits of Gibraltar, with a view to force a landing between Cape Trafalgar, and Cape de Plata at Tariffa, or at Algeziras in failure of the two former places.

General La Penas was the commander in chief of the expedition; and his object was to unite the Spanish forces at San Roque, with his own army, in order to make a combined attack on the rear of the enemy's lines at Cadiz. It was also intended that the British fleet should assist in some demonstrations, and in an attempt to open a communication from Cadiz to the advancing army.

On the evening of the 20th, it being conceived, from the appearance of the weather, that the Spanish part of the force would be able to get out on the afternoon and night of the 21st, the British detachment and squadron, under the command of Captain Brace of the navy, put to sea accordingly; and, with the exception of one transport, got into the straits; but it being impracticable to make a landing either in the vicinity of Cape Trafalgar or Tariffa, Captain Brace proceeded to Algeziras, on the west side of the Bay of Gibraltar, where General Graham and the troops were landed.

The little army immediately marched for Tariffa; but as the roads were impracticable for carriages, the artillery, provisions, stores, &c. were conveyed thither in boats, notwithstanding the unfavourableness of the weather, by the indefatigable exertions of the navy.

It was, however, some days before the Spanish part of the expedition could get out; nor did they get to Tariffa until the 27th.

On the 28th the combined army moved from Tariffa towards Barbate, attended by such naval means as winds and weather would permit; and preparations were made by the fleet and garrison at Cadiz, and immediately acted upon, to menace the Trocadero and other points of the French line, in order, as the army advanced, to favour its operations, arrangements being made for a landing and real or feigned attacks as circumstances might determine; for which purpose the regiment of Toledo was embarked on board the British squadron.

On the 1st of March General Zayas pushed across the river San Petri,

nœuvres, as he clearly and judiciously saw that the nature of the Spanish territory, the nature of the warfare carried on in the

near the coast: a strong body of Spanish troops threw a bridge across the river, and formed a *tete du pont*. It was, however, a post of too much importance for the enemy to leave it unmolested; and accordingly it was attacked with vigour on the nights of the 3d and 4th, when, though the assailants were ultimately repulsed, the loss of the Spaniards was very considerable.

The winds and weather were now so tempestuous and unfavourable, that landing on any part of the neighbouring coasts was extremely difficult, and a speedy re-embarkation, if necessary, almost impracticable; in fact, even common communication with the advancing allied army was considerably impeded by the heavy surf along the shore; and the services of the Spanish regiment embarked being totally useless they were sent on shore.

Information was now received that the army was advancing, but the weather on the 5th in the afternoon was too unsettled to admit of any co-operation.

The allied troops, after a night march of sixteen hours from the camp near Vegar, arrived on the morning of the 5th of March on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the river of San Petri.

A well conducted and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near San Petri by the vanguard of the Spanish army, under Brigadier General Ladrizabel, having opened the communications of the army with the *Isle de Leon*, General Graham received directions from the Spanish General La Penas to move down from the position of Barrosa to that of the *Torre de Bermesa*, about half way to the San Petri river, in order to secure a communication across the river, over which a bridge had been lately established. This latter position placed the British troops on a narrow woody ridge; the right on the sea cliff, the left falling down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of the marsh; a hard, sandy beach giving an easy communication between the western points of these two positions.

General Graham having halted his division on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height, he marched about noon through the wood towards the *Bermesa*, (cavalry patrols having previously been sent towards Chielana without meeting with the enemy,) but on the march he received intelligence that a large French force had appeared on the plain, and was then advancing towards the heights of Barrosa.

The general, considering that position as the key of San Petri, immediately countermarched in order to support the troops left for its defence; and the order was obeyed by his gallant few with such alacrity that he could not help regarding it as a favourable omen. In such difficult and intricate ground it was impossible to preserve order in his columns of march; and indeed he after-

Peninsula, and the protracted state of warfare, would in time produce considerable advantage to the allied cause.

wards confessed in his despatches that there never was time for restoring it entirely, for before he could get his detachment quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen returning from it, whilst the left wing of the enemy was rapidly ascending; and at the same time his right wing stood on the plain, on the edge of the wood, within cannon shot.

With the utmost coolness and precision General Graham reflected, that a retreat in the face of such an enemy, already within reach of the easy communication by the sea beach, must have involved the whole allied army in all the danger of being attacked during the unavoidable confusion of the different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Bermesa, nearly at the same time; therefore, trusting to the known heroism of British troops, regardless of the numbers and position of the enemy, he determined, with rapid judgment, on an immediate attack.

Major Duncan of the artillery soon opened a powerful battery of ten guns in the centre. Brigadier General Dilks, with the brigade of guards; Lieutenant Colonel Browne's (of the 28th) flank battalion; Lieutenant Colonel Norcott's two companies of the 2d rifle corps, and Major Acheson, with a part of the 67th foot, (separated from the regiment in the wood,) formed on the right.

Colonel's Wheatley's brigade with three companies of the Coldstream guards, under Lieutenant Colonel Jackson, (separated likewise from his battalion in the wood,) and Lieutenant Colonel Barnard's flank battalion formed on the left.

As soon as the infantry was thus hastily got together, the guns advanced to a more favourable position, and kept up a most destructive fire.

The right wing proceeded to the attack of General Rufin's division on the hill, while Lieutenant Colonel Barnard's battalion, and Lieutenant Colonel Bushe's detachment of the 20th Portuguese, were warmly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs on the left.

General Laval's division of the French army, notwithstanding the havoc made by the British artillery, continued to advance in very imposing masses, opening his fire of musketry; and was not checked until the British left wing advanced, firing, when a most determined charge by the three companies of the guards, and the 87th regiment, supported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of General Laval and his division.

The eagle of the 8th regiment of French light infantry, which upon this occasion suffered severely, and a howitzer, were the reward of this gallant charge, being taken possession of by Major Gough of the 87th, whilst the

The state of the hostile armies, at the commencement of the year 1811, has been admirably drawn by a cotemporary historian, who observed that the retreat of Massena from his advance upon the British lines at Torres Vedras back to Santarém, at the close of the preceding year, had produced excessive joy and congratulation at home, as his immediate and further retreat was then looked for with certainty.

It soon appeared, however, that he had established himself in

attack was zealously supported by Colonel Belson, with the 28th regiment, and Lieutenant Colonel Prevost, with a part of the 67th.

Nothing could stop the impetuosity of these gallant fellows, who, rushing on, soon obliged a reserve formed beyond the narrow valley, across which the enemy was closely pursued, to share the same fate, they being routed by a second charge.

Nor was the right wing of the British less successful. On that side, the enemy, confident of success, met General Dilks on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary; but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of guards, of Lieutenant Colonel Browne's battalion, and of Lieutenant Colonel Norcott's, and Major Acheson's detachment, overcame every obstacle, and General Rufin's division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon.\*\*

\*\* In this brilliant action, the fire was hotter than ever remembered by the oldest soldier; scarcely an officer escaping without some mark of shot, General Graham was himself pierced in the coat in two places; many of the colonels had their horses wounded, and Lieutenant Colonel Colquitt, of the guards, was shot through the sleeve of his coat by a musket ball, and a cannon shot literally touched his saddle, while he was in the act of dismounting to pass a ravine.

A private letter stated :—

“ Our fellows had marched 22 miles that day, and were just taking refreshment, when a peasant came to General Graham and told him the French were coming round a wood to surprise him, on which General Graham formed his little army with admirable precision. When the enemy appeared in sight, General Graham rode up in front of the guards, 87th regiment, German Legion, and Portuguese cavalry; and, waving his hat, exclaimed, ‘ Now my lads there they are—spare your powder, but give them steel enough!’ on which the column gave three cheers, and as the French neared them gave their volley, and made so animated a charge, that in an hour the enemy were put *hors du combat*, and with the prompt assistance of the rifle corps, and other British regiments, dispersed in all directions.

his new position, thereby showing his retreat to Santarem to be perhaps little more than a feint, or at least merely rendered necessary by the devastation of that district, which his numerous army had so long occupied.

Indeed, early in 1811 Lord Wellington received intelligence that considerable reinforcements, to the amount of 15,000, were coming to him, bringing with them extensive supplies; and that although the Portuguese General Silveira had attempted to interrupt their march, still he had only been able to harass them in a small degree, and was even himself compelled to abandon his object after a smart action in which he was beaten.

It has been noticed, that for some time after Massena received this reinforcement the desertions from his army were much less frequent, nor did the accounts even of those who came away present such horrid pictures of distress and famine.

From all this it was easy to conjecture that the French army must have received a considerable supply of provisions; but still Lord Wellington knew that the additional force which accompanied them must in the end increase their consumption, and hasten the retreat of the whole, from sheer famine, provided he could avoid a general action. With this object in view, then, did he quietly occupy his lines at Torres Vedras, silently expecting that period which should again put the French army in motion.

The French army, being no longer able to remain in the positions which it had so long occupied at Santarem and its vicinity, began to retire on the night of the 5th of March, when Lord Wellington on the following day, at an early hour, put the whole British army in motion to follow them.

Their first movements indicated an intention to collect a force at Thomar; he, therefore, marched upon that town, on the 8th, a considerable body of troops formed of a part of Marshal Sir William Beresford's corps, under Major General the honourable William Stewart, which had crossed the Tagus at Abrantes and afterwards the Zezere, and of the 4th and 6th, and part of the first divisions of infantry, and two brigades of British cavalry.

The enemy, however, continued their march towards the Mondego, having one corps on the road to Espinhal; General Loison's division on the road of Anciao; and the remainder of their army towards Pombal. These last were followed, and never lost sight of, by the light division, the royal dragoons, and 1st hussars, who annoyed them so closely as to take about two hundred prisoners.

On the 9th of March the enemy collected in front of Pombal a considerable force, amounting to three divisions of their army; but even this they were not permitted to do unmolested; for the hussars, which, with the royal dragoons and light division were immediately in their front, distinguished themselves much in a charge which they found a favourable opportunity of making, under the command of Colonel Arenschildt.

So rapid, indeed, had been the movements in advance of the pursuing army, that a detachment of the 16th light dragoons under Lieutenant Weyland, which had been in observation of the enemy near Leyria, made prisoners a detachment consisting of thirty dragoons on that morning: and had followed the enemy from Leyria, and arrived on the ground just in time to assist their friends the hussars in their charge.

Though a part of the British army was so far in advance, yet Lord Wellington could not collect a sufficient body of troops to commence any serious attack upon the enemy before the 11th,\* when a considerable force was brought up including the light divisions of infantry and all the British cavalry; all of which joined upon the ground immediately in front of the enemy, who had commenced their retreat from their position during the night.

The enemy now made an attempt to hold the ancient castle of Pombal, but were driven from it by the advance under the command of Major Generals Sir William Erskine and Slade; but a strong corps of the enemy under General Montbrun was enabled to hold the ground on the other side of the town, as our troops had

\* On this very day, the 11th of March, Badajoz surrendered to Marshal Soult, after a very honourable resistance.

not arrived in time to complete the dispositions for the attack before it was dark.

In the night of the 11th the enemy retired; and on the 12th the sixth corps of their army, with General Montbrun's cavalry, took up a strong position at the end of a defile between Redinha and Pombal, with their right in a wood upon the Loura River, and their left extending towards the high ground above the river of Redinha. This town was in the rear.

Lord Wellington immediately led to the attack, with the divisions of light infantry, General Pack's brigade, and the cavalry; the other troops being in reserve.

The post in the wood upon their right was first forced by Sir William Erskine with the light division, when his lordship was enabled to form the British troops in the plain beyond the defile; and the division under General Picton was formed in two lines in the skirts of the wood upon the right. By the other dispositions for the main attack, General Cole's division was in two lines in the centre, having General Pack's brigade supporting their right, and the light division in two lines on their left. These again were supported in the rear by the British cavalry, and three other divisions of infantry in reserve.

The whole of the troops were thus formed with great accuracy and alacrity, and Lieutenant General Sir Brent Spencer led the line against the enemy's position on the height, from which they were immediately driven, with the loss of many men killed and wounded, and some prisoners.

Thus far their defeat was complete; but as there was only one narrow bridge, and a ford close to it, over the Redinha river, over which the British light troops actually passed with the enemy, and these passages at the same time were commanded by the French artillery, some time elapsed before a sufficient number of troops could be passed over to make a fresh disposition to attack the heights in which they had again taken post. A division, however, passed over; and, by manœuvring upon their flanks, obliged them to retire upon their main body at Condeixa.

➤ Even there they were pursued; and on the 13th Lord Wel-



lington observed them sending off their baggage; and, judging from their movements that they felt themselves hard pressed, he immediately marched a division under Major General Picton through the mountains upon their left, towards the only road open for their retreat, which had the instant effect of dislodging them from their strong position at Condeixa: after which a communication was opened with Coimbra, and a detachment of cavalry taken prisoners. A considerable part of the enemy's force was found in a very strong position at Casal Nova the next morning, but the light infantry drove in their outposts; and as Lord Wellington perceived that he could only dislodge them by movements upon their flanks, a series of movements to that effect were immediately put in force, which obliged them to abandon all the positions which they successively attempted to take in the mountains; the whole of their rear guard, consisting of two corps d'armée, being thus driven back upon the main body at Miranda de Corvo, upon the river Esa, with a considerable loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The result of these spirited and well-timed operations was the saving of Coimbra and Upper Beira from their hostile ravages, whilst a communication was opened with the northern provinces, and the enemy themselves were obliged to retreat by the road to Ponte de Murcella; in which route Lord Wellington expected that the militia would be able to annoy them in flank, whilst the allied army should press upon their rear. The whole country, indeed, afforded many advantageous positions to a retreating army, of which, as his lordship candidly observed, they showed that they knew how to avail themselves: but they were obliged to retreat in one solid mass, covering their rear in every march by the operations of a strong rear guard in the various strong positions they might fall in with; and so great were the inconveniences and difficulties connected with this mode of retreat, that before they quitted their position they were obliged to

destroy a part of their cannon and ammunition, and afterwards to blow up much which their horses could not carry away.\*

On the 14th the divisions of Generals Cole and Nightingale joined at Espinhal; and this movement affording Lord Wellington the means of turning the enemy's strong position at Miranda de Corvo, they abandoned it that very night, destroying a great number of carriages, burying and otherwise destroying or concealing the ammunition which they had carried, and also much of their baggage; whilst their road of march was strewed with the carcasses of men and animals, and the wreck of their equipments.

On the 15th his lordship found the enemy's whole army in a very strong position on the river Ceira, having one corps, as an advanced guard, in front of Foy d'Aronce on the hither side of

\* Lord Wellington observed that they had no provisions except what they had plundered on the spot; or having plundered, what the soldiers carried on their backs, and some live cattle. He added that their conduct throughout the retreat was marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres Novas, Thomar, &c. in which the head-quarters of some of the corps had been for four months, and in which the inhabitants had been induced by promises of good treatment to remain, these poor people were yet plundered and many of their houses destroyed on the first night of the enemy withdrawing from their position; after which they burned every town through which they passed. Even the convent of Alcobaca was burnt by orders from head-quarters; the bishop's palace, and the whole town of Leyria, in which General Drouet had had his head-quarters, shared the same fate; and there was not an inhabitant of the country, of any class or description, who had any dealings or communication with the French army, without having reason to complain of their treatment.

This is the mode, adds his lordship, in which the promises have been performed and the assurances have been fulfilled, which were held out in the proclamation of the French commander in chief; in which he told the inhabitants of Portugal that he was not come to make war upon them, but with a powerful army of one hundred and ten thousand men, to drive the English into the sea. It is to be hoped, he continues, that the example of what has occurred in this country, will teach the people of Portugal and other nations, what value they ought to place on such promises and assurances, and that there is no security for life, or for any thing which renders life valuable, excepting decided resistance to the enemy.

the river. He immediately made arrangements to drive in this post, preparatory to the movements which it might be expedient to make to cross the Ceira the next morning, when the different detachments performed a number of masterly evolutions in a difficult country, successively driving in their posts; but as a heavy fog had prevented the army from moving until a late hour in the morning, it was dark by the time they had gained possession of the last position of the advanced guard. In the night, however, the whole French army retreated, having destroyed the bridge on the Ceira, and left only a small rear guard on that river.

The losses of the British army in these several attacks were trifling in the extreme; and the enemy continued their retreat during the remainder of the month towards the frontier, Massena feeling himself obliged to facilitate his various movements by the abandonment of his wounded, the destruction of baggage, and whatever could be considered as an encumbrance.

The British army still continued in advance and harassing them upon every occasion, but not sufficiently strong to attempt any general attack. Indeed, in a country thus plundered by a retreating army, the pursuers must inevitably meet with considerable difficulties, and although, when Lord Wellington found that the enemy retreated with great celerity from Moita, he continued the pursuit with the cavalry and the light infantry, yet he was induced to halt the remainder of the army till the supplies which had been sent round from the Tagus to the Mondego could arrive. In fact, this halt was the more desirable, as nothing could be found in the country, and every day's march increased the distance from the magazines in the Tagus, thereby rendering the supply of the troops more difficult and precarious.

Thus the cavalry and light troops continued to annoy the enemy's rear, and a number of prisoners were taken; whilst the detached corps of the army and of the main Spanish force were enabled to attack with success the various detachments of the French army.

In this forced retreat, Massena was obliged to march by a

read very confined; and his plan of devastation did not extend more than a league in diameter; such was the vivacity and promptitude with which he was pursued!

Indeed, to set on fire thus, and destroy the places through which he passed, was neither a proof of tranquillity of spirit, or the effect of a good retreat; and was nothing but the result of the desperation of his heart; the effect of that degree of cruelty and degradation to which the French hosts have arrived. A few companies in his rear were sufficient to set all the places on fire through which they passed; but in many places the pursuing troops extinguished the fires a few minutes after these barbarians had kindled them.

Sir William Beresford was also particularly active; and, having united his whole force at Portalegre early in April, succeeded in an attack of the enemy at Campo Mayor under the famous Mortier, obliging them to retire across the Guadiana with a very considerable loss.\*

Late in March the allied army under Lord Wellington were collected in the vicinity and in front of Celorico, with a view to

\* A letter from an officer after the action says:

"Yesterday a French captain of dragoons brought over a trumpet, requesting permission to search among the dead for his colonel—his regiment was a fine one, with bright brass helmets, and black horsehair, exactly like what the old Romans are depicted with—many of us went out with him—it was truly a bloody scene, being almost all sabre wounds; the slain were all naked, the peasants having stripped them in the night. It was long before we could find the French colonel—he was lying on his face, his naked body weltering in blood; and, as soon as he was turned up, the officer knew him, gave a sort of scream, and sprung off his horse, dashed his helmet on the ground, knelt by the body, took the bloody hand and kissed it many times in an agony of grief: it was an affecting and awful scene."

"I suppose there were about 600 naked dead bodies lying on the ground at one view—the French colonel was killed by a corporal of the 13th; this corporal had killed one of his men, and he was so enraged that he salled out himself and attacked the corporal, who was well mounted and a good swordsman, as was the colonel himself—both defended for some time, the corporal cut him twice in the face, his helmet came off at the second, when the corporal slew him by a cut which nearly cleft his skull asunder, cutting in as deep as the nose through the brain."

dislodge the enemy from the position which he had taken upon Guarda; and on the 29th a large proportion of the British force having advanced in five columns, supported by the reserve and the Portuguese militia, the French army abandoned their position without firing a shot, and retired upon Sabugal, on the banks of the Coa, followed by the cavalry, who took many prisoners: several successive and successful attacks taking place upon their rear by the cavalry and horse artillery.

Early in April the French army occupied a position on the Upper Coa, having their right at Rovina, and guarding the ford of Repoilla de Coa with a detachment at the bridge of Ferrerias: and their left at Sabugal, with a corps at Alfayates.

The right of the British army was opposite Sabugal, and the left at the bridge of Ferrerias, nearly in contact with the enemy's right.

In this position Lord Wellington determined upon an attack upon the rear guard; and, as a preparatory step, ordered the Portuguese militia under General Trant and Colonel Wilson to cross the Coa below Almeida, for the purpose of threatening the communication of that place with Ciudad Rodrigo and the enemy's army.

In this attack there were some difficulties to surmount, for the river Coa is difficult of access throughout its whole course: and the position which the enemy had taken was very strong, and could only be approached on the left. The troops were therefore put in motion on the morning of the 3d of April, to turn the enemy's left above Sabugal, and to force the passage of the bridge of that town, with the exception of a small force which was left to observe the French posts at the bridge of Ferrerias.

The enemy's rear guard were in a strong position, with their right upon a height immediately above the bridge and town of Sabugal, and their left extending along the road to Alfayates, to a height which commanded all the approaches to Sabugal, from the fords of the Coa, above the town. It was intended to turn the left of this corps; and accordingly the light division and

the cavalry under Major Generals Sir William Erskine and Slade were to cross the Coa at two fords on their right, a division under General Picton at a ford on the left, and the artillery at the bridge of Sabugal.

A brigade of the light division were the first that crossed the Coa, with two squadrons of cavalry; when part of the 95th, with some Portuguese, and supported by the 43d regiment, drove in the enemy's piquets; but at this moment a storm of rain came on which rendered it impossible to see any thing, when these gallant troops, having pushed on in pursuit, came upon the left of the main body, which it had been intended they should turn.

In consequence of this the light troops were driven back upon the 43d regiment; and as soon as the atmosphere became clear, the enemy having perceived that the body which had advanced were not strong, attacked them in a solid column, supported by cavalry and artillery. These troops, however, repulsed this attack, and advanced in pursuit upon the enemy's position, where they were attacked by a fresh column on their left, and were charged by the French hussars upon their right. On this they retired and took post behind a wall, from which post they again repulsed the enemy; and advanced a second time in pursuit of them, and took from them a howitzer. They were, however, attacked by a fresh column with cavalry, when they retired to their post, where they were joined by the other light brigade. With this accumulation of force, they again advanced to the attack, when they were attacked by a fresh column with cavalry, which charged their right, and obliged them to take post in an enclosure upon the top of the height, from whence they could protect the howitzer which the 40th had taken, and from this they again drove back the enemy.

The French were now making arrangements for a fresh attack upon this post, which Colonel Beckwith and his party had so gallantly defended, and had actually moved a column upon the left, when the light infantry of General Picton's brigade, supported by the honourable General Colville with his brigade, opened their fire upon them.

At the same moment the head of Major General Dunlop's column crossed the bridge of the Coa, and ascended the heights on the right flank of the enemy; and the cavalry at the same time appearing on the high ground in rear of their left, the whole of the enemy's force immediately retired across the hills towards Rondo, leaving the howitzer in the possession of those who had so gallantly gained and preserved it, and about two hundred killed on the ground, with six officers and three hundred prisoners left in the hands of the allied army.\*

Finding themselves thus closely harassed, the enemy continued their retreat during all the succeeding night and the next morning; and entered on the frontiers of Spain on the 4th, thus leaving *Portugal free*. They continued their retreat, and crossed the Agueda a few days after; whilst the allied army took up their position upon the Duas Casas, a post which General Crawford had occupied with his advanced guard during the latter part of the preceding siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; and the advanced posts were soon pushed as far forward as the banks of the Agueda.

Lord Wellington, about the latter end of April, having made arrangements for the blockade of Almeida, and having reason to believe that the enemy's army would not be in a situation for some time to attempt the relief of that fortress, even if they should be so inclined, took the advantage of this momentary discontinuance

\* In noticing the occurrences of this day, Lord Wellington observed, that although the operations were, through unavoidable accidents, not performed in the manner intended, yet that he considered the action fought by the light division, by Colonel Beckwith's brigade principally, with the whole of the 2d division of the French army, to be one of the most glorious that British troops were ever engaged in.

It was impossible, he added, for any officer to conduct himself with more ability and gallantry than Colonel Beckwith. The action was commenced by an unavoidable accident to which all operations are liable; but having been commenced, it would have been impossible to withdraw from the ground without risking the loss of the object of the general movements; and it was desirable to obtain possession, if possible, of the top of the hill, from which the enemy had made so many attacks with advantage, on the first position taken up by the 43d regiment.

of active operations with respect to his own army, to proceed for Estremadura to the corps under Sir William Beresford. In short, his active mind was everywhere, and he shrunk from no fatigue or privation to have his person everywhere also.

With Sir William's army he found every thing in an active state, and a system of desultory warfare constantly carrying on to the great annoyance of the enemy.

The operations of this early part of the campaign may thus be considered as decisive: and the brilliant successes of the allied army were celebrated by every demonstration of joy which could mark the gratitude of the Portuguese for the exertions of the British troops in their behalf, and the general satisfaction inspired by the salvation of their country.

Te Deum was sung in all the churches; the city of Lisbon was splendidly illuminated; and, in addition to the general popular expression, the regency sent the most complimentary addresses to Lord Wellington and Sir William Beresford. One great object of Lord Wellington, in his visit to the army in Estremadura, was to superintend the arrangements for the siege of Badajoz by Marshal Beresford's army; and this being accomplished, he set off again on his return to his own troops on the banks of the Agueda and Coa; about which time the town of Olivenza, after some spirited attacks, had surrendered to Major General Cole.

The gallant affair of FUENTE D'HONOR was now approaching; it is necessary, therefore, to enter a little more into detail, on the anterior movements of the two armies; the affair being in itself so critical, as at one time to have given considerable advantages to the French had they known how to profit of them; but all of which were immediately retrieved by the skill of the British general, and the gallantry of his army.

On the 2d of May the enemy's whole force, consisting of three corps d'armée, and all the cavalry which they could possibly collect in Castile and Leon, including about nine hundred of the imperial guard, crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo.

As Lord Wellington's object in maintaining a position between



the Coa and the Agueda, after the enemy had retired from the former, was to blockade Almeida, which place, he had learnt by intercepted letters, and other information, was ill supplied with provisions for its garrison; and, as the enemy was infinitely superior to the British army in cavalry, he did not give any opposition to their march, and they passed the Azava on the evening mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Gallegos.

On the 3d in the morning, they continued their march in three columns, towards Duas Casas; two of which proceeded to the vicinity of Alameda and Fort Conception, and the third, consisting of the whole of the cavalry, and two other corps of infantry, proceeding straight forward.

The allied army had been cantoned along the river Duas Casas, and on the sources of the Azava; the light division being at Gallegos and Espeja. This last fell back upon Fuentes d'Honor, a village on the Duas Casas, with the British cavalry, in proportion as the enemy advanced, and the 1st, 3d, and 7th divisions were collected at that place; and the 6th division, under Major General Campbell, observed the bridge at Alameda; whilst Major General Sir William Erskine, with the 5th division, was at the passages of the Duas Casas, at Fort Conception, and Aldea D'Obispo. Brigadier General Pack's brigade, with the Queen's regiment, kept the blockade of Almeida; and Lord Wellington prevailed on the gallant partizan, Don Julian Sanchez, to occupy Nave d'Avar with his corps of Spanish cavalry and infantry.

The light division were moved in the evening to join General Campbell, upon finding that the enemy were in strength in that quarter and they were brought back again to Fuentes D'Honor on the morning of the 5th, when it was found that a corps of the enemy had proceeded to strengthen their left.

Shortly after the enemy had formed on the ground on the right of the Duas Casas, in the afternoon of the 3d, they attacked the village of Fuentes with a very large force; but it was defended in the most gallant manner by a much inferior number, who maintained their position with great perseverance, when

Lord Wellington, whose eye was everywhere, having observed the repeated efforts which the enemy were making to obtain possession of the village, and being fully aware of the advantage which they would derive from that possession in their subsequent operations, immediately reinforced it in succession with the 70th, 79th, and 24th regiments, when the honourable Lieutenant Colonel Cadogan, at the head of the 71st, charged the assailants, and drove them from the part of the village of which they had obtained momentary possession.

Nearly at this time Lieutenant Colonel Williams, who commanded in advance, was wounded, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Cameron of the 79th. The contest continued until night, when the British troops remained in possession of the entire village.

Lord Wellington, judging that the 71st and 79th regiments, with the 2d battalion of the 24th to support them, were sufficient for the defence of the village, then withdrew the light infantry battalions and the 83d, for service in another part of his line.

The enemy attempted nothing further on the 4th than to reconnoitre the positions which the British army had occupied on the Duas Casas river; and, during that night, they moved General Junot's corps from Alameda to the left of the position occupied by the 6th corps, opposite to Fuentes. From the course of the reconnoissance of that day, Lord Wellington had imagined that the enemy would make another attempt to gain possession of Fuentes D'Honor, and of the ground occupied by the troops behind that village, by crossing the Duas Casas at Poya Velho; he, therefore, in the evening, moved Major General Houston's division to the right, in order, if possible, to protect that passage.

On the morning of the 5th a large body of the enemy appeared in two columns, with all the cavalry, on the opposite side of the valley of the Duas Casas to Poya Velho; and as two other corps of the French also made a movement to their left, the light division, which had been brought back from the vicinity of Alameda,

was sent, with the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, to support General Houston's division; whilst the 1st and 3d divisions of the British made a movement along the ridge between the Turon and Duas Casas rivers, corresponding to that of the two corps of the enemy.

With an enemy so superior in numbers, the difficulty of defending so extended a line as the British were obliged to occupy, must have been very great; for had they failed in any one part of it, or attempted to concentrate, they must have been turned; and, perhaps, defeated; it is not, therefore, too much to say, that the prudence and prescience of Lord Wellington, with respect to every hostile movement, and the activity and alertness of the troops in executing his counteracting manœuvres, were more worthy of admiration on this occasion than even the personal gallantry displayed by all.

The general action now commenced by the 8th corps of the French attacking General Houston's advanced guard consisting of the 85th regiment under Major M'Intosh, and the 2d Portuguese Caçadores under Lieutenant Colonel Nixon. These corps were shortly after obliged to retire; but they did it in good order, though with some loss: and the enemy's corps being thus established at Poya Velho, they availed themselves of this advantage, by sending forward their cavalry to turn the right of the 7th British division, between Poya Velho and Nave d'Avar, from which place Don Julian Sanchez had been obliged to retire.

This was a most critical moment for the British army; but, without hazarding an observation, we shall simply state the judicious movements which checked its consequences, and turned the fortune of the day.

The cavalry who had turned the post occupied by General Houston immediately charged; but their advanced guard was met by two or three squadrons of the different regiments of British dragoons, and instantly driven back, leaving Colonel La Motte of the 13th chasseurs, and some other prisoners. At the same moment their main body was checked and obliged to retire by the well directed fire of Major General Houston's division.

During the whole of this business Lord Wellington was on the spot, and afterwards spoke in high terms of the conduct of the *Chasseurs Britanniques*, and of a detachment of the Duke of Brunswick's light infantry. He saw the charge repulsed; he immediately concentrated part of the British force towards the left, and moved the 7th and light divisions, and the cavalry, from Poya Velho towards Fuentes d'Honor, and the other two divisions. To the prudence of Lord Wellington in thus concentrating his line, we may say that the safety of the British army was in a great measure owing; whilst the steadiness of the troops presented such a front to the enemy, as effectually checked them from taking advantage of the moment to make an attack in force. Indeed, they were sufficiently occupied in another part of the line; and the event fully justified the commander in chief; for he had extended his line to the occupation of Poya Velho and its vicinity, in hopes that he should be able to maintain the communication across the Coa by Sabugal, as well as provide for the blockade, which objects he now saw were incompatible with each other; and he, therefore, abandoned that which was the least important, placing the light division in reserve, in the rear of the left of the 1st division, on some commanding ground beyond the Turon, which protected the right flank and rear of that division, covered the communication with the Coa, and prevented that of the enemy with Almeida, by the roads between the Turon and that river.

His lordship himself very candidly allowed in his despatches that the circumstances were very critical; but the movements of the troops were most admirably conducted by Generals Houstoun, Crawford, and Cotton; as the 7th division was covered on its passage of the Turon, by the light division under General Crawford, whilst it, in its turn, was covered by the British cavalry, in its march to join the 1st division of the army.

The British army now took up entirely a new position, extending along the high ground from the Turon to the Duas Casas. This disposition was most admirable; every part of the line forming a mutual defence to the next, and vice versâ. For

the 7th division, on the left of the Turon, covered the rear of the right; the 1st division, in two lines, were on the right; Colonel Ashworth's brigade, in two lines, in the centre; and the 3d division, in two lines, on the left. The light division and British cavalry were in reserve; and the village of Fuentes d'Honor on the left of all.

Such confidence did Lord Wellington now place on this new arrangement, that when Don Julian Sanchez's\* infantry joined the 7th division in Frenceda, he immediately sent him with his cavalry to endeavour to interrupt the enemy's communication with Ciudad Rodrigo. The enemy, too, were fully sensible of the military importance of these movements; for, from this moment, all their efforts on the right were confined to a cannonade, and to some trifling charges of their cavalry upon the advanced posts.

In one of these affairs, a very serious repulse was given to the enemy, by the piquets of the 1st division, under Lieutenant Colonel Hill of the 3d regiment of guards; but, as they were afterwards falling back, they did not see the direction of another in sufficient time to form and oppose it, and Lieutenant Colonel Hill was taken prisoner, and many men were wounded, and some taken, before a detachment of the British cavalry could move up to their support.

Immediately after, the 2d battalion of the 42d under Lord

\* The exertions of the guerillas were still active and unceasing; among others was Don Julian, or *Hulian* as the Spaniards call him, who is captain general of one district. He has long been the terror of the French, and the hope of his own countrymen.

He had his father, mother, and sister, murdered by the French; and has, like Hannibal, sworn eternal hatred to them, whether in peace or war. After being expelled from the patrimony of his ancestors, it was not long before he had an opportunity of avenging the death of his relatives. Returning with his band of guerillas from the mountains, he found a French colonel, who had been a great aggressor in that part of the country; and, upbraiding him for his numberless cruelties, told him that he was Don Julian, who had now the satisfaction of putting a stop to his villanies, and sending him to another tribunal to account for them. This was in the same house in which his father was murdered.

Blantyre also repulsed a heavy charge of the cavalry directed against them.

The enemy also made an attempt to push a body of light infantry down the ravine of the Turon, to the right of the 1st division; but this was repulsed by the light infantry of the guards, under Lieutenant Colonel Guise, assisted by five companies of the 95th under Captain O'Hara.

Thus were they completely checked upon the right; but their principal effort, throughout the whole of the day, was directed against Fuentes d'Honor. Here, however, although the whole of their six corps were at different periods of the day employed to attack it, they could never gain more than a temporary possession of it. It was defended by the 24th, 71st, and 79th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Cameron, supported by some light infantry battalions, the piquets of the 3d division, and the Portuguese corps. Here again, as in the preceding attack on a former day, the commanding officer was wounded, when the defence devolved upon the honourable Lieutenant Colonel Cadogan, who had distinguished himself so nobly by charging at the head of the 71st regiment, on the preceding day.

The troops defending Fuentes were besides supported, when pressed by the enemy, by the 74th and 88th; and on one of these occasions, the 88th, with the 71st and 79th, under the command of Colonel Mackinnon, charged the enemy and drove them through the village.

In this quarter the contest lasted till night, when the British troops were in full possession of the village; after which, the enemy, completely repulsed on all sides, attempted no further attacks upon the British positions. So signal was their defeat, for defeat it certainly was, that in the course of the night of the 9th they commenced a retrograde movement from their position at Duas Casas; and, at daylight in the morning of the 8th, the whole French army was in motion.

Such was the state of affairs, however, that Lord Wellington could not immediately decide whether this movement was preparatory to some fresh attempt to raise the blockade of Almeida.

which the British force still kept up, or one of decided retreat; but such was his confidence in his gallant few, that he had every reason to hope they would not succeed in the first, and would therefore be obliged to have recourse to the last. It was indeed impossible for him to adopt any absolutely offensive measures against them in this movement; for their superiority in cavalry was very great, owing to the weak state of the English horses from recent fatigue and scarcity of forage; he judged, therefore, that the result of a general action brought on by an attack of the enemy by the British army might, under these circumstances, have been doubtful; and if the enemy had chosen to avoid it, or if they had met it, they would, in either case, have taken advantage of the concentration of the British army for the purpose of fighting the action, to throw relief into Almeida.

In the whole of this business at Fuentes the actions were partial; yet, from the great numerical superiority of the enemy, the British loss was very great.\*

No officers of rank were either killed or wounded, however, except those mentioned in the course of the narrative; and the whole numerical loss of the British and Portuguese, during the several attacks, amounted to 193 killed, 1,030 wounded, and 291 missing.

The evident superiority of the British now in the Peninsula, though outnumbered, may be drawn from the fact, that, at this very period, Sir William Beresford was enabled to invest Badajoz on the left side of the Guadiana, and to begin to collect stores for the attack of that place; and further, by the circumstances of the enemy, under Massena, having retired on the 8th to the woods between Espega, Gallegos, and Fuentes d'Honor, in

\* The city of London on the 9th of May not only voted thanks to Lord Wellington and the gallant army under his command, but also agreed to present him with an elegant sword, value £00 guineas. Some objections indeed were made to this measure, but it was at length finally carried in spite of all invidious opposition.

Thanks also were voted by the two houses of the legislature, and every demonstration of public joy and public honours manifested, as some reward for such a long series of heroic gallantry.

which position their whole army was concentrated on the following day, when, on the evening of the 9th, the whole broke up and retired across the Azava, covering their retreat by their numerous cavalry, and crossing the Agueda on the 20th, thereby leaving Almeida to its fate.

As a proof of the consequences of his victory, Lord Wellington immediately established his advanced posts upon the Azava and on the Lower Agueda, whilst the main body of his army were put into cantonments on the *Duas Casas*.\*

\* Almeida was now left to the attacks of the allied army; it was indeed not tenable against a regular siege, but a very well conducted manœuvre on the part of its small garrison deserves notice; for on the 10th in the evening, the 6th division having resumed the blockade, Major General Sir William Erskine was ordered to send a battalion to Barba del Puerco to guard the bridge there, which had been previously ordered on that service; but about one in the morning of the 11th, the garrison blew up some mines which they had constructed in the works, and immediately attacked the piquets by which they were observed, and forced their way through them. They fired but little, and they appeared to have marched between the bodies of troops posted to support the piquets; and in particular could not have passed far from the right of the Queen's regiment.

Upon the first alarm, Brigadier General Pack, who was at Malapartida, joined the piquets, and continued to follow and fire upon the retiring garrison, as a guide for the bodies of troops posted to support the piquets in the blockade; whilst Major General Campbell marched from Malapartida with a part of the 1st battalion of the 36th. But the garrison continued their march in a solid compact body without firing, and were well guided between the positions occupied by the British troops.

It happened unfortunately, too, that the 4th regiment, which was ordered to occupy Barba del Puerco, missed the road, and did not arrive there until the fugitives had reached the place, and commenced the passage of the bridge. At this moment, however, fresh troops came up, who had followed the firing, and the enemy suffered a considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners; but the plan had been so well concerted, that part of the 2d corps of the enemy, which were in St. Felices, formed upon the river to protect their passage as soon as they heard the firing, and some of our troops who had crossed the river were obliged to retire with loss.

It appears that this plan had been some time in agitation; as, for several nights before, the garrison had repeatedly fired cannon in the night, and had made several feigned sorties to produce a fire of musketry, so that when this retreat actually took place, great part of the British troops considered it as nothing more than a series of the same proceedings.



On the night of the 15th of May, Lord Wellington received despatches from Sir William Beresford, informing him that Marshal Soult had broken up from Seville, and had advanced towards Estremadura, notwithstanding the reports which had been industriously spread, that he was busily occupied in strengthening Seville, and that all his measures indicated an intention to remain on the defensive in Andalusia.

Without a moment's delay, his lordship set out on the following morning for Villa Fermosa, and arrived at Elvas on the 19th, when he found that Sir William Beresford, in consequence of Soult's advance, had raised the siege of Badajoz, but without the loss of ordnance, or stores of any description, and having formed a junction with the Spanish Generals Castanos and Blake at Albuera on the 15th,\* had repulsed Marshal Soult, with great loss to the assailants.

\* After the battle of Almeida, Lord Wellington rode to Elvas, but arrived the morning after the affair at Badajoz. His wish was so great to be present, that he killed three horses in the journey, which he performed in three days. On his arrival at a river, he found a bridge, which he had ordered to be constructed, not ready, and he swam his horse across; the stream was very rapid, and the two dragoons who followed him were drowned. His lordship was saved by the superior strength of his horse.

On the 16th of May, three days previous to his lordship's arrival at Elvas, every measure was taken to receive the enemy under Soult, who had appeared in front on the preceding evening, and the whole allied force was formed in two lines, nearly parallel to the river Albuera, on the ridge of the gradual ascent rising from that river, and covering the roads to Badajoz and Valverde.

The enemy, in the morning of the 16th, did not long delay his attack; at eight o'clock he was observed to be in movement, and his cavalry was seen passing the rivulet of Albuera considerably above the right of the allies, and shortly after he marched out of the opposite wood a strong force of cavalry, and two heavy columns of infantry, pointing them to the front of the line, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuera: during this time, under cover of his vastly superior cavalry, he was filing the principal body of his infantry over the river beyond the right, and it was not long before his intention appeared to be to turn the allies by that flank, and cut them off from Valverde. Major General Cole's division was therefore ordered to form an oblique line to the rear of the right, with his own right thrown back, and the intention of

Towards the latter end of May, the British army having assembled at Campo Mayor, Lord Wellington issued orders for

the enemy to attack on the right becoming now evident, Marshal Beresford requested General Blake to form part of his first line, and all his second, to that front, which was done.

Soult commenced the attack at nine o'clock, not ceasing at the same time to menace the left; and, after a strong and gallant resistance of the Spanish troops, he gained the heights upon which they had been formed. At this critical moment, the divisions of General Stewart and Hamilton were brought up to the left of the Spanish line, and formed in contiguous close columns of battalions, so as to be moveable in any direction, whilst the Portuguese cavalry, under General Otway, remained at some distance on the left, to check any attempt of the enemy below the village.

As the heights the enemy had gained raked and entirely commanded the whole allied position, it became necessary to make every effort to retake and maintain them, and a noble one was made by the division of General Stewart, headed by that gallant officer.

Nearly at the beginning of the enemy's attack, a heavy storm of rain came on, which, with the smoke of the firing, rendered it impossible to discern any thing distinctly. This, with the nature of the ground, had been extremely favourable to the enemy, in forming his columns, and in his subsequent attack. These circumstances, too, operated very unfortunately at this moment, when the right brigade of General Stewart's division under Lieutenant Colonel Colbourne first came into action, and behaved in the most gallant manner, and finding that the enemy's column could not be shaken by their fire, proceeded to attack it with the bayonet; but, while in the act of charging, a body of Polish lancers, (cavalry,) which the obscurity of the atmosphere, and the nature of the ground had concealed, (and which was, besides, mistaken by those of the brigade when discovered for Spanish cavalry, and therefore not fired upon,) turned the brigade, which, being thus attacked unexpectedly in the rear, was unfortunately broken, and suffered immensely. The 3d regiment, being the left one of the brigade, alone escaped this charge; and under the command of Major L'Estrange, kept its ground until the arrival of the 5d brigade under Major General Houghton. The conduct of this brigade was most conspicuously gallant, the brave major general falling, pierced by wounds, whilst cheering his men to the charge.\*\*

Though the enemy's principal attack was on this point of the right, he also

\*\* During the hottest of the action, an officer, Ensign Thomson, was called on to surrender the colours he held; but he declared he would give them up only with his life, and he fell a victim to his bravery. Another officer, Ensign Welch, had the colour-staff he held broken by a cannon ball, and

the close investment of Badajoz on the right bank of the Gaudiana, in addition to the former investment by Sir William Beresford on the left bank, and determined to recommence the opera-

made a continual attempt upon that part of the original front towards the village and bridge, which were defended in the most gallant manner by Major General Baron Alten, and the light infantry brigade of the German Legion, whose conduct was remarkably steady throughout. This point now formed the left of the allied army, and General Hamilton's division had been brought up there, he being left to direct its defence.

When the infantry attempted to force the allied line, the enemy's cavalry also endeavoured to turn it; but his endeavours were completely out-manœuvred by the allied cavalry, though much inferior in number, directed by the honourable Major General Lumley.

At this moment the fortune of the day, if not turned, was at least wonderfully aided by a most judicious movement of Major General Cole, who brought up his left, marching in line to attack the left of the enemy, and arrived most opportunely to contribute, with the charges of the brigades of General Stewart's division, to force the enemy to abandon his situation on the heights, and retire precipitately, and to take refuge under his reserve.

The retreating corps of the assailants were pursued by the allies to a considerable distance; and, indeed, as far as Sir William Beresford thought it prudent, considering the vast superiority of cavalry which the enemy possessed; he, therefore, contented himself with seeing them driven across the Albuera. Though beaten in his main attack, Soult still continued that near the village; on that side, however, he was never able to make the slightest impression, nor even to cross the rivulet, although a great proportion of the troops had been

was also severely wounded, having fallen on the field; he tore the colours from the staff, and thrust them into his bosom, where they were found after his death.

Sir William Beresford was also attacked by one of the Polish cavalry, whom he dismounted with the intention of preserving his life; but the man persisting in his first design, was at length killed by a dragoon.

When these Polish lancers make a charge, a red flag is suspended at the end of every lance, and that flag is so carried by the rider as to prevent the horse from seeing any other object. These red flags, during the action, terrified the British horses, and rendered every effort impracticable to make them meet the charge.

The Polish lancers committed great cruelties upon our wounded, putting several of them to death; but they were themselves overtaken during the retreat by the 3d and 14th dragoons, who killed and cut down a considerable number of them.

tions of the siege. It was accordingly invested on the 25th of May, and ground broken on the night of the 29th, the ordnance and stores for the siege having then been brought up.

drawn away to support the point of the main attack; but when defeated in this latter quarter, his attempts upon the left ceased also.

Of this brilliant business General Beresford observed, that it was impossible to enumerate every instance of discipline and valour shown on this severely contested day; but never were troops that more valiantly or more gloriously maintained the honour of their respective countries. Of the Spanish troops the behaviour was most gallant and honourable; and, though from the superior number and weight of the enemy's force, that part of them that were in the position attacked were obliged to cede the ground, yet it was after a gallant resistance, and they continued in good order to support their allies.

The action itself commenced, as has been stated, at nine o'clock, and continued without interruption until two in the afternoon, when the enemy being driven over the Albuera, there was nothing during the remainder of the day but skirmishing and cannonading. The French left on the field of battle about two thousand dead, and lost about one thousand prisoners; besides five generals killed and wounded: they having commenced the action with about twenty-two thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and a numerous and heavy artillery.

The general total of the British on this day amounted to 870 killed, 2,722 wounded, and 554 missing, great part of whom afterwards returned; whilst that of the Portuguese was 104 killed, 262 wounded, and about 30 missing.

The only officers of high rank of the British killed, were Major General Houghton, and Lieutenant Colonels Sir William Myers, of the 7th regiment, and Duckworth, (the former dying of his wounds,) but the number of wounded was very great, amongst whom were the two Generals Cole and Stewart; besides Lieutenant Colonels Blakeney, White, Inglis, and many other gallant officers.

After the battle, the enemy retired to the ground he had been formerly on; but so much afraid of an attack as to occupy it in position; and during the night he thought proper to retreat by the road he came towards Seville, leaving Badajoz to its fate, and a number of wounded to the humanity of the conquerors, who administered to them every assistance in their power.

On the part of the allies, though their loss was severe, yet it was unavoidable, and they completely reaped the advantage which they expected by their opposition to the attempts of the enemy, who whilst forced to abandon the object for which he had almost stripped Andalusia of troops, instead of hav-

In the early part of June the operations were carried on with vigour, so that by the 6th of that month two breaches had been made, but neither of them practicable for an assault.

On the 6th, the fire from the outwork of St. Christoval being considered as likely to impede the progress of the siege, Lord Wellington directed that an attempt should be made to carry it by storm that night. Major General Houstoun, who conducted the operation on the right of the Guadiana, accordingly ordered a detachment under Major Macintosh, of the 85th regiment, to proceed on that service. The troops advanced under a very heavy fire of musketry and hand grenades from the outwork, and of shot and shells from the town, with the utmost intrepidity, and the best order to the bottom of the breach, the advanced guard being led by Ensign Dyas of the 51st regiment, who volunteered to perform that duty; but they found that the enemy had cleared the rubbish from the bottom of the escarpe; and, notwithstanding that they were provided with ladders, it was impossible to mount it, and they retired with loss. After three days' continual cannonade, the breach in the wall of St. Christoval again appearing practicable, his lordship directed that a second attempt should be made on the night of the 9th, and another detachment was ordered for the service under the command of Major McGeachy, of the 17th Portuguese regiment, when Ensign Dyas again volunteered to lead the advance; but, on advancing at nine at night, they met with the same opposition as before, and on their arrival at the foot of the breach, found that the rubbish had been a second time completely cleared away. Major McGeachy was killed and several of the other officers fell; yet the troops still maintained their position, although to

ing accomplished the haughty boasts with which he had harangued his troops on leaving Seville, had nothing left but to return to that city with a diminished army, and with a decreasing reputation.

By subsequent accounts, intercepted letters from General Gazan, who was left to conduct the retreat of such of the wounded as could march, amounting to four thousand, it appeared that the sum total of the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was not less than nine thousand men.

mount was impracticable, until Major General Houstoun sent orders for them to retire.

Lord Wellington must have been doubtless chagrined by these disappointments, for he had expected to reduce the place before the latter end of June; and he was naturally anxious to accomplish it by that time, as he then expected that Marshal Soult would receive such reinforcements as would enable him to make movements against the besieging army.

His lordship now found that the necessary works to insure the capture of the place would require a labour of several days to complete; and, on the morning of the 10th, he received accounts that Soult was then in full force, having received considerable reinforcements even at that early period. He also received accounts which left no doubt of the destination of the French army to the southward, and that their arrival was expected at Merida on the 15th; he, therefore, found it necessary to order the siege to be raised, as he had not a sufficient force to carry on its operations, and at the same time to watch the movements of an overwhelming army; though he still determined to maintain the blockade.

About the middle of June the French army had advanced towards Badajoz; but even then they began to feel the effects of bringing together their whole force, as even at that early period they were straitened for provisions, and kept much in check by the positions of the allies.

As it was now deemed of great importance to draw off the pressure and attack of the French armies from the Spanish troops, Lord Wellington having returned about September to the northern frontier of Portugal, made an advance with his army for the purpose of threatening Ciudad Rodrigo.

By this manœuvre he expected not only to relieve the various Spanish armies from the overwhelming pressure of the French, but also to compel the French armies to concentrate and again advance into a ravaged country, where they would meet with but little subsistence.

In fact this seems to have been a part of his general plan.

which was always to keep the enemy on the alert, and never to permit it for any length of time to separate into distinct corps, or to spread itself in detachments so as to facilitate the means of support and forage. By this means he constantly kept his own army also in an active and healthy state, as his supplies from Lisbon and Oporto were always certain whilst Britain was the mistress of the ocean.

Under all these considerations, he was certain of either annoying the French army to the whole proposed extent, or of gaining possession of Ciudad Rodrigo if they should not choose to advance; in either of which cases an object of importance would be attained.

The French chose, however, to adopt the former alternative, and accordingly advanced in great force from Salamanca towards Fuente Guinaldo.

It is unnecessary to trace all the movements of the hostile armies until the 4th of September, when Lord Wellington commenced the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo; but this he was obliged to raise on the 25th of September, being then in the presence of a very superior enemy, having previously, on the 21st of that month, collected the British army in positions from which he could either advance or retire without difficulty; and which would enable him to see all that was going on, and the strength of the enemy's army.

With this intention, a part of the British army occupied the range of heights on the left of the Agueda, having their advanced guards within three miles of Ciudad Rodrigo; another division was at *Fuente Guinaldo*, where Lord Wellington had ordered a position to be strengthened with some works; the light division was on the right of Agueda, having their right resting upon the mountains which separate Castile and Estremadura; Lieutenant Colonel Graham with the left of the army was posted on the Lower Azava; whilst the sixth division, with Major General Anson's brigade of cavalry, was at Espeja, Carpio Marialva, &c.

Mareschal del Campo Don Carlos d'Espagne observed the Lower Agueda with Don Julian Sanchez's cavalry and infantry

whilst Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton, with a large proportion of the cavalry, was on the Upper Azava in the centre, with General Pack's brigade at Campillo, and rather in advance; the 5th division being in observation, in the rear of the right, at the pass of Perales, in consequence of the French General Foy having remained and collected a body of troops in Upper Estremadura.

The enemy first appeared in the plain near Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 23d, and retired again in a short time; but, on the 24th in the morning, they advanced again in considerable force, and entered the plain by the roads of St. Spiritus and Tenebron; and before evening they had collected there all their cavalry to the amount of about 6,000 men, and four divisions of infantry, of which one division were of the imperial guard; and the remainder of their armies were encamped on the Guadapero, immediately beyond the hills which surround the plain of Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the morning of the 25th every thing seemed to threaten a serious attack, and the French began by sending a reconnoissance of cavalry towards the Lower Azava, consisting of about fourteen squadrons of the imperial guard, and these drove in the English posts on the right of the river; but on their passing it, the Lanciers de Berg were charged by two squadrons of the 16th and one of the 14th light dragoons, and driven back. Ashamed of being checked by such an inferior force, they attempted to rally and to return, but were fired upon briskly by the light infantry of the 61st, who had been posted in the wood by Lieutenant General Graham, when General Anson drove them across the river, and afterwards resumed his own posts on that side.

But the enemy's attention was principally directed during the day to the position of the 3d division on the hills, between Fuente Guinaldo and Pastores. About eight in the morning they moved a column consisting of between thirty and forty squadrons of cavalry, and fourteen battalions of infantry, with twelve pieces of cannon, from Ciudad Rodrigo, in such a direction as made it doubtful whether they would attempt to ascend the



hills by *Encina El Bodon*, or by the direct road to *Fuente Guinaldo*, and Lord Wellington was kept for a few moments in a state of indecision, until a forward movement showed the direction of their march, when he immediately reinforced the post on the hill, over which the road passes to *Guinaldo*.

In the mean time, however, the small body of troops at the post gallantly sustained the whole attack of the enemy's cavalry and artillery. One regiment of French dragoons succeeded, indeed, in taking two pieces of artillery which had been posted on a rising ground on the right of the British advance; but they were immediately charged by the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, under the command of Major Ridge, and the guns retaken.

Whilst this operation was going on in the flank, an attack was made on the front by another regiment, which was repulsed in a similar manner by the 77th regiment; and the three squadrons of General Alten's cavalry repeatedly charged different bodies of the enemy as they ascended the hill.

At length the divisions of the enemy's infantry which had proceeded from *Ciudad Rodrigo*, being brought up to the attack on the road of *Fuente Guinaldo*, and Lord Wellington, seeing that they would arrive and be engaged before the coming up of the reinforcements he had ordered, determined to withdraw this advanced post, and to retire with the whole upon *Fuente Guinaldo*.\*

\* "Marched at 4 A. M. from Pao, through Havas and towards Aldea de Ponte—when, just in the midst of our cookery, the alarm was given that the French were approaching, in great force, on the other side of the town, and which was confirmed by an instantaneous discharge of cannon and musketry. The beef and soup were thrown in every direction, and we stood to our arms. Two companies were ordered to a stone wall in front, to protect the movements of the division in their formation. In this position we waited the approach of the enemy. I should observe, it was an enclosed field with stone walls, and very well adapted to the operations of infantry and light troops. The attention of the enemy was however called off by a division to the left of ours, and General Dunlop thought it advisable to remove to a more advantageous position, and more protected from cavalry. We therefore moved upon a hill on the left, and formed in close columns, to support the division then engaged, if necessary. General Picton's division were likewise in reserve at nearly a similar distance.

In performing this critical manœuvre, the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, and the 77th, were formed into one solid square, and the 21st Portuguese regiment into another, supported by Major General Alten's small body of cavalry, and the Portuguese artillery.

The enemy's cavalry immediately rushed forward, and being so superior in numbers, obliged the British cavalry to retire to the support of the Portuguese regiment; and at the same moment, the 5th and 77th were charged on three faces of the square by the French cavalry; but they halted and repulsed the attack with the utmost steadiness and gallantry.

This repulse was decisive; the whole of the rear guard continued its retreat and joined the remainder of the third division, which was also formed in squares on their march to Fuente Guinaldo; and the whole retired together in the utmost order, the enemy never attempting to make another charge upon them, but

"We had here an opportunity of calmly beholding a field of battle as spectators, and a most unpleasant spectacle to my feelings it was; not a man but anxiously wished that it might become general. Our guns appeared to be most advantageously placed on the skirts of a wood; their force in cavalry outnumbered ours exceedingly. For some time each side manœuvred as coolly as on a parade; sometimes advancing, covered by light troops; and sometimes retreating.

"After skirmishing in this manner for nearly two hours, a very heavy column of the enemy were seen advancing over a hill in their rear, which seemed likely to make matters assume a more serious aspect. They advanced boldly against our guns, and received a shell, which deranged them a little, by bursting in the midst of them. They still, however, advanced; but, on a second shell being thrown with equal effect, they went to the right about, without again approaching our artillery. The skirmishers were frequently very hotly engaged; the royal dragoons and the 11th light were the only cavalry in the field, and the former absolutely offered battle to three French regiments of cavalry, superior in numbers. The royals admirably maintained the character they have so justly gained in this country; and the French appeared to admit their own inferiority, and to feel the effects of the 25th, though we *had* retreated. Our men, though fatigued and hungry, and without even wine or spirits, were anxious to engage, and were hammering their flints, and making all their usual preparations.

"There were some Irish lads, whose conversation was truly laughable".

*Journal of an officer.*

contenting themselves with following at a respectful distance, though keeping up a fire from the artillery.

The whole British army was now in position upon Fuente Guinaldo, and the whole of the force so posted as to be *en échelon*, of which the centre was in the position of Guinaldo, the right upon the pass of Perales, and the left Nave d'Aver.

Even here, though in a defensive position, Lord Wellington did not desist from harassing the enemy as much as in his power, having at this very period detached Don Julian Sanchez, with a large body of cavalry, to the enemy's rear.

In the afternoon of the 25th the enemy brought up more infantry from Ciudad Rodrigo, and in the course of that night and of the 26th they collected the whole of their army in front of the British positions; on which his lordship, not deeming it expedient to stand their attack in that place, retired about three leagues towards Alfayates, and Aldea de Ponte, the piquets of the cavalry being in front of the latter place.

It had been the enemy's intention to turn the left of the position of Guinaldo, by moving a column into the valley of the Upper Azava, and thence ascending the heights in the rear of the position by Castellejos; and from this column they detached a division of infantry, and fourteen squadrons of cavalry, to follow the British line of retreat by Albergaria, whilst another body of the same strength followed by Furcalhos. The former attacked the piquets of the cavalry at Aldea de Ponte, and drove them in; and they pushed on nearly as far as Alfayates; but Lord Wellington immediately ordered General Pakenham to attack them with his brigade, supported by General Cole, and Sir Stapleton Cotton with the cavalry, when the assailants were driven back through Aldea de Ponte, upon Albergaria, and the piquets of the British cavalry resumed their stations.

But the enemy having been now reinforced by the troops which marched upon Furcalhos, again advanced, about sunset, and drove in the piquets of the cavalry from Aldea de Ponte and took possession of that village.

Aldea now became the scene of contention; for General Cole immediately attacked with a part of General Pakenham's brigade, and drove them through the village; but night coming on, and General Pakenham being uncertain of what was passing on his flanks, or of the numbers of the enemy, and indeed knowing also that it was Lord Wellington's intention to fall back with the main body still further, he evacuated the village, which the enemy reoccupied during the night.

On the 28th Lord Wellington formed his army on the heights behind Soito, the right being extended to the Sierra das Mesas, whilst the left was at Renda on the Coa, about one league in the rear of the position which they had occupied on the preceding day. Beyond this, however, he had no further occasion to retire; for the enemy, instead of advancing, also began to retire, evacuating Aldea de Ponte on that day, and placing their advanced posts at Albergaria, on which his lordship began to canton his troops in this position, in consequence of the expected bad weather at the equinox, and from understanding also that the enemy were actually about to retire.\*

We have thus seen that Lord Wellington was forced to give up his blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo; indeed he owned himself that he could not pretend to maintain its blockade, nor make any efforts to prevent, or even materially to impede, the collection of supplies, or the march of the French convoy for the relief of that place.

This relief was indeed the great object of the enemy; and for that purpose they were obliged to collect and concentrate all their troops, thereby relieving all the Spanish corps who were hard pressed in other quarters, and forming in the whole an army of sixty thousand men, of which six thousand were cavalry, with one hundred and twenty-five pieces of artillery.

\* Amidst the great mass of praise bestowed by his lordship in his despatches, he observed that his Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange accompanied him during the various operations, and though it was the first time of his being in fire, yet he conducted himself with a degree of spirit and intelligence affording a hope that he will become an ornament to his profession.

It has been said that his lordship, if he meant not to make an effectual stand, might have retired without exposing his troops to slaughter; but this is a mode of reasoning only fit for the fireside; a well contested retreat will preserve the courage of an army, whilst to retire without seeing the face of the enemy will always dispirit it. Besides, as his lordship said, "the reports were so various respecting the enemy's strength, it was necessary that he should see their army," as this would undoubtedly have an influence upon his ulterior operations.

That the resistance offered by the British army was sufficient to check any plans which the enemy might have formed, beyond the mere relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, is evident from their having retired from that place on the 30th of September, the army of the north separating for Salamanca, and that of Portugal towards Banos and Placentia.

At this period several distinguished foreign honours were bestowed on Lord Wellington, and on the 26th of October, a royal license was gazetted, permitting his lordship (who some time before had been constituted Marshal General of the Portuguese army) to accept the title of *Condé de Vimiera*, and also the insignia of a *Knight Grand Cross* of the Royal Portuguese military Order of the *Tower and Sword*, conferred upon him by the Prince Regent of Portugal in testimony of the high estimation in which his royal highness holds his distinguished and glorious services on various important occasions.\*

The French armies in the month of October continued nearly in the same positions; but notwithstanding that the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo had been an object of such importance to them, it was still harassed, if not blockaded, by the allied army, and so alert were the advanced parties, that the gallant Spanish partizan, Don Julian Sanchez, actually carried off, on the 15th of October,

\* At the same time Sir William Beresford (who had been elected a knight of the bath for his gallant services, and who is also marshal and commander in chief of the Portuguese forces) received permission to accept the dignity of *Conde de Trancoso*, and the insignia of the same order conferred on Lord Wellington.

a large proportion of the cattle grazing near that place, and even made prisoner the governor, General Reynard, who had come out of the fort and across the Agueda, attended by some staff officers, and escorted by a party of about twenty cavalry; he was there surrounded by Don Julian's detachment as soon as he entered the hills, and was taken with two of his escort under the very guns of the place.

About this time the Spanish guerillas were increasing in numbers and boldness throughout the Peninsula, where the two well known partizans *Empecinado* and *Mina* were very successful against some of the enemy's posts and detachments, when their army was collected for the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo; but these occurrences would occupy too much ground from our main subject to be entered on more fully.

Whilst the two main armies were thus laying watching each other's movements, the British and their allies were not inactive in other places; particularly Lieutenant General Hill, who had been ordered to march into Estremadura, with the troops under his command. He marched by Aldea del Cano to Alcuesca, in search of General Girard; and on the 27th of October, having information that the enemy were in motion, he proceeded through Aldea, being a shorter route than that taken by the French, and affording a hope of being able to intercept him, and bring him to action. On the march he learned that Girard had halted his main body at Arroyo de Molinos, leaving a rear guard at Albala; which was to General Hill a satisfactory proof that he was ignorant of the movements of the allied detachment. General Hill, therefore, determined to surprise him, and accordingly made a forced march to Alcuesca that evening, where the troops were so placed as to be out of sight of the enemy, and no fires were allowed to be made. On the arrival at this place, which is not more than a league from Arroyo, General Hill was more fully convinced that Girard was ignorant of his movements, and also extremely off his guard; he determined, therefore, upon attempting to surprise him, or at least to bring him to action, before he should march in the morning; and the necessary dispositions were made for that purpose.

The ground over which the troops were to manœuvre being a plain, thinly scattered with oak and cork trees, General Hill's object was, to place a body of troops so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy, either to Truxillo or Merida : he, therefore, moved the army from their bivouack (or resting place without tents) near Alcuesca, about two in the morning of the 28th, in one column, right in front, direct on Arroyo del Molino. On arriving within half a mile of the town, when under cover of a low ridge, the column closed and divided into three columns, the infantry being on the right and left, and the cavalry occupying the centre. As the day dawned, a violent storm of rain and thick mist came on, under cover of which the columns advanced according to the concerted plan; the left column proceeding for the town, under Lieutenant Colonel Stewart; the 71st, and part of the 60th, and 92d, at a greater distance, and the 50th in close column, somewhat in the rear, with the guns as a reserve. The right column, under Major General Howard, having the 39th regiment as a reserve, broke off to the right, so as to turn the enemy's left; and having gained about the distance of a cannon shot to that flank, it marched in a circular direction upon the further point of the crescent formed by the troops, whilst the cavalry, under Sir William Erskine, moved between the two columns of infantry, ready to act in front, or move round either of them, as occasion might require.

The advance of the British columns was unperceived by the enemy until they approached very near, at which moment they were filing out of the town upon the Merida road; the rear of the column, some of the cavalry, and part of the baggage, being still within it, though one brigade of infantry had marched from Medellin an hour before daylight.\*

\* A letter from an officer states :

" We are just returned to our cantonments after a very tough job, the result of which, however, amply compensates us for the fatigues we underwent. After marching the whole day, on the 27th arrived at a village called Alcuesca, when we lay under a hill, without being allowed to light fires, in consequence of the vicinity of the enemy. This was trying work to our poor fel-

At this moment the 71st and 92d regiments charged into the town with cheers, and drove the enemy everywhere at the point of the bayonet, having only a few of their men cut down by the enemy's cavalry. The enemy's infantry which had got out of the

lowes—they had eaten nothing for two days, and after marching all day in the pouring rain, were obliged to lie in a ploughed field up to their knees in mud.

"We marched about two o'clock, quite dark, and raining dreadfully, and by daybreak we had three brigades formed under a hill, within cannon shot of the place where Monsieur was still snoring, unconscious of his danger. One out-lying piquet of the enemy would have frustrated our plan; they had one about a mile from the village, but most fortunately they had retired (in consequence of the troops having an order to march at six o'clock) just before the head of our column came to the spot. The various regiments forming these brigades brought their left shoulders forward, and marched, or rather ran, in the best possible order, to gain the Merida road before the enemy, which done they would have no alternative but to take to the mountains.

"Two or three cannon shot from the village informed us that the bird had not flown; they were, however, formed outside of it, and ready to march. General Girard laughed, and said that the English were too fond of comfort to get out of their beds such mornings as these, (raining hard,) he thought it was only an advanced party of the Spaniards, and was ordering his men out of the town in order (as he said) to drub them heartily. On turning round, the first man he saw was one of the 92d; then he rode off to set his troops in motion.

"The French officers in the town behaved remarkably well—they singled out, and sword in hand attacked the British commanders. The honourable Colonel Cadogan had the cap cut through on his head with a coup de sabre; Colonel Stewart of the 50th (who commanded the brigade) was knocked off his horse; and Lieutenant Colonel Cameron of the 92d severely wounded. But the Frenchmen soon received the reward of their temerity, for the whole found in the village were either killed or made prisoners by the brave 92d, Gordon's Highlanders.

"Girard, who was wounded twice, got off with three or four hundred men, and they say four eagles; but they were invisible, the officers having pocketed them. When we saw there was no possibility of following them, we tried a *ruse de guerre* after their own fashion; but it did not do—A flag of truce was sent to tell them that they were surrounded, and to ask them to surrender.

"The men and officers seemed inclined to do so, and an officer and a few men actually came off; but Girard said he would never surrender with life, and if taken there was his resource, pointing to his pistols—he was in tears, and much agitated."



town had, by the time these regiments arrived at the extremity of it, formed into two squares, with the cavalry on their left; the whole were posted between the Merida and Medellin roads, fronting Alcuesca.

These squares were formed close to the town, but the garden walls were promptly lined by the 71st light infantry, whilst the 92d filed out and formed a line on the enemy's flank, the whole throwing in a hot and well directed fire. In the mean time one wing of the 50th regiment occupied the town, and secured the prisoners; and the other wing, along with the three six pounders, skirted the outside of it, the artillery, as soon as within range, firing with great effect upon the squares.

Whilst the enemy was thus occupied upon the right, General Howard's column continued moving upon their left, and the allied cavalry advancing, and crossing the head of the enemy's column, cut off the cavalry from the infantry, charging it repeatedly, and putting it to the rout. The 13th light dragoons at the same time took possession of the enemy's artillery.

In this part of the business, the Spanish cavalry, under the Count de Penne Villemur, behaved remarkably well; for the British cavalry having been somewhat delayed by the darkness of the night and the badness of the road, the Spaniards were the first to form upon the plain, and gallantly engaged the enemy until the British came up.

The whole body of the French were now in full retreat; but General Howard's column having gained the point to which it was directed, and the left column coming fast upon them, they had no resource but to surrender, or to disperse and ascend the mountain, which forms one extremity of the Sierra of Montanches, and is almost inaccessible.

The latter attempt they preferred; and, scrambling up the eastern extremity, were followed closely by the 28th and 34th regiments, whilst the 39th and Colonel Ashworth's Portuguese infantry followed round the foot of the mountain to take them in flank.

As may be imagined, the enemy's troops were by this time in

the utmost panic; the cavalry were flying in every direction, the infantry throwing away their arms, and the only effort of either was to escape. The troops under General Howard's command, as well as those he had sent round the point of the mountain, pursued them over the rocks, making prisoners at every step, until his own men became so exhausted, and few in number, that it was necessary for him to halt and secure the prisoners.

The force which Girard had with him at the commencement of the business, consisting of 2,500 infantry and 600 cavalry, were now totally dispersed or captured; amongst the latter of whom were General Brune, the Prince d'Aremberg, two lieutenant colonels, an aid de-camp, thirty captains and subalterns, and upwards of 1,000 soldiers, with the whole of their baggage, artillery, commissariat, and even the contributions which they had recently levied. The enemy's loss in killed was also very severe, whilst, from the circumstances of the case, it was very trifling on the side of the British. Girard escaped himself with two or three hundred men, but without arms, and even these were much harassed in their retreat by the Spanish peasantry.

## SECTION IX.

Spanish affairs—Surrender of Blake—Repulse of Montbrun—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo—Assault and surrender of that fortress—Lord Wellington created an earl—Siege of Badajoz—Military details—Assault of the citadel, and surrender of the place—Anecdotes—Gallant conduct of the British cavalry at Villa Garcia—Marshal Soult kept in check in Andalusia—Exemplary conduct of the Portuguese militia—Sir Rowland Hill's expedition to Almaraz—Gallant assault of that place, and its destruction—March to Salamanca—Retreat and manœuvres of the French army—Salamanca taken by the British—Siege and capture of the French fortified posts in that city—movements of Marmont's army—Gallant affair of the British cavalry with the rear guard of the enemy—Movements before the battle of Salamanca—Incidents connected with that affair—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA—Anecdotes of the action—Defeat and pursuit of the French army—Fall of General Le Marchant—Affecting anecdote of an English lady, &c. &c. &c.

THE year 1812 opened with a severe misfortune to the Spanish cause on the eastern coast, where Valencia not only capitulated, but Blake surrendered with his whole army, giving up immense magazines of all kinds of stores to the French, who were indeed less successful at Alicant, where Montbrun was repulsed early in January.

On the 3th of January Lord Wellington commenced his investment of Ciudad Rodrigo, which had been lately considerably strengthened; for since the French had got possession of it they had constructed a palisadoed redoubt on the hill of St. Francisco, and fortified three convents in the suburb, the defences of which were connected with the new work on the hill of St. Francisco, and with the whole line by which the suburb was surrounded. By these means they had increased the difficulty of approaching the place, and it was necessary to obtain possession of the work on the hill of St. Francisco before any progress could be made in the attack.

Accordingly, Major General Crawford, who was in charge of the advanced operations, directed a detachment of the light division, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Colbourne of the 52d, to attack the work shortly after dark, which was executed

in a very able style, the whole being carried by storm; two captains and forty-seven men taken prisoners, and the rest of the garrison put to the sword during the assault. The loss of the assailants was but trifling, and they took three pieces of cannon.

The main body of the French army did not receive intelligence of these operations unmoved; and Lord Wellington received information of their preparing the assemblage of troops at Salamanca to a certain extent; this, however, only hastened his operations, and made him persevere in the siege with redoubled vigour.

The capture of this place was of great importance to the cause of the allies; and it is a pleasure to observe, that the people of Castile contemplated the operations with great interest, and afforded much assistance upon all occasions. The military efforts of the Spaniards, too, were of some considerable utility; for the Marshal del Campo, Don Carlos d'Espagne, and Don Julian Sanchez, observed the enemy's movements beyond the Termes during the siege, and showed themselves worthy of the assistance afforded them by the gallant British army.

The events of the siege also put in possession of the British upwards of one hundred and fifty-three pieces of ordnance, including the heavy train belonging to the French army, together with immense quantities of ammunition and stores: and there were surrendered with the governor, General Barrier, about seventy-eight officers, and seventeen hundred men, prisoners.

On the 24th of January the gallant General Crawford died of his wounds, lamented by the army, and regretted by his commander in chief: and on the 29th Lord Wellington received intelligence of Marshal Marmont having arrived at Salamanca seven days previous, where six divisions of the army of Portugal were collected on the two succeeding days.

As yet, the French did not venture to advance; but General Souham's division, with about six hundred cavalry and some artillery, were sent as far as Matilla, and patrolled in advance to San Munez and Tamames; but this movement was merely to ascertain the fact of the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, when they thought

proper immediately to return to the Tormes. His lordship, however, for the present, took no active notice of these demonstrations, but contented himself with repairing the damage which the British fire had done to the works, and in a short time put the whole place into a good state of defence.

The impression made at home by this acquisition was very great, as it showed that the conduct, the prudence, and the gallantry, of Lord Wellington had so far operated in favour of the general cause as to keep the enemy in check even whilst he was besieging their most important depots; whilst the inactivity of the French, and their inability to march to the defence of so important an object, clearly showed the manifest superiority of the allies, in consequence of the judicious measures of the noble commander in chief.

Nor was he permitted to go unrewarded, as his royal highness the prince regent immediately created him Earl of Wellington, in addition to his other titles and honours. On this occasion, too, with a just attention to military merit, his royal highness noticed his brave companions in arms, nominating Lieutenant Generals Graham and Hill as knights of the most honourable order of the bath.

Towards the middle of February some movements on the part of the French took place, two divisions of the army of Portugal, together with General Montbrun's cavalry, having advanced to the Tagus, in the vicinity of Talavera and Toledo; but at the same time General Bonnet was obliged to evacuate the Asturias, suffering considerably in this operation, not only from the weather, but also from the attacks of a detachment of the army of Galicia, and of General Porlier's corps.

The guerilla parties also continued to increase, and their operations became every day of more importance; particularly that active partizan *Saomil*, who about this time was powerful enough to intercept the communications of the army of Portugal in Upper Castile, near Medina del Campo, where he took a considerable number of prisoners; whilst the party of Cuesta, another partizan, attacked a large body of French infantry which had

crossed the Tictar, and obliged them to retire with considerable loss.

A most important era in the Spanish cause was now advancing, by the siege and storming of Badajoz, which commenced on the 16th of March, and was carried by escalade and assault on the 6th of April, displaying a degree of gallantry and perseverance, equal to any thing of ancient or modern times.\*

It must not be forgotten, that during the whole of this arduous business, Lord Wellington had great difficulties to contend with, in consequence of the total failure of the civil authorities of the province of Alentejo to perform their duty, and to supply the army with means of transport; these difficulties continued also to exist even afterwards, with the exception of General Victorea, the Governor of Elvas, who, together with the troops under his command, made every exertion, and did all in their power, to contribute to the general success.

These operations were viewed by the French with great uneasiness, but without any active attempt on their part to frustrate them. Marshal Soult, indeed, left Seville on the 1st of April, with all the troops which he could collect in Andalusia; and he was in communication with the troops which had retired from Estremadura, under General Drouet, two days afterwards, and on the 4th of April advanced as far as Llerena.

In proportion, then, as he should advance, Lord Wellington, with great prudence, determined to concentrate his own troops; and he, therefore, gave directions to Lieutenant Generals Hill and Graham, who were in advance towards Llerena, to retire slowly from that vicinity and the upper parts of the Guadiana.

But up to the 7th, even before he could have heard of the fall of Badajoz, Marshal Soult seems to have acted very circumspectly,

\* About this period, at home, an act was passed for settling and securing a handsome annuity on Earl Wellington, and the two next persons to whom the title of Earl of Wellington shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

and without making any decided movement, although he had patrolled forward with small detachments of cavalry, and had even pushed the advanced guard of his infantry as far as Usagre.

There seems, however, to have been a want of unity of design amongst the French commanders at this moment. None of the army of Portugal had attempted any movement towards the south, in order to form a communication with Soult; and Mar-mont himself, who was then on the frontiers of Castile, contented himself with establishing a body of troops between the Coa and Agueda, and with reconnoitring Almeida early in April.

In these movements, too, he was closely watched, for Brigadier General Trant's division of militia was placed on the Coa; and Brigadier General Wilson's other division of the Portuguese militia followed him, together with the cavalry; whilst Lieutenant General the Condé D'Amarante marched with a part of the troops under his command towards the Douro.

On the 8th of April Marshal Soult had collected the whole of his army at Villa Franca, in Estremadura; and, having there heard of the fall of Badajoz, thought proper to retire before daylight the next morning towards the frontiers of Andalusia.

As soon as he commenced his retreat, Sir Thomas Graham proceeded to harass him by detachments; and accordingly Sir Stapleton Cotton, with the cavalry, attacked and defeated his rear guard at Villa Garcia in a very handsome style; and that with such success, that the enemy retired that very day from Llerena, and immediately afterwards entirely evacuated the whole province of Estremadura.

About this period those corps of the Spanish army in communication with the allies, seem to have been pretty active; particularly the Condé de Penne Villemur, who, with a detachment of the 5th army which had been sent from Estremadura into the Condado de Niebla, had approached that town by the right of the Guadalquiver, and had some affairs with the enemy's garrison

of Seville, and of the fortified convent on that side of the river, obliging them to retire within their works.

This took place on the 5th of April; but on the 10th the Condé retreated, according to a suggestion from Lord Wellington himself, in consequence of the fall of Badajoz, and the certainty which he felt that Marshal Soult would return into Andalusia without risking an action.

This retreat Soult was, indeed, permitted to make, almost unmolested, with the exception of Sir Stapleton Cotton's attack on his rear guard, as it was not at that moment, for many reasons, possible for Lord Wellington to bring him to action. In the north, Marmont was making some show of offensive operations, keeping Ciudad Rodrigo blockaded; but he had not ventured to make any attack upon it, nor had even repeated his visit to Almeida, having suffered some loss in his former reconnoissance of that place.

On the 7th, the very day on which Badajoz fell, the greatest number of the troops of the army of Portugal in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, and engaged in its blockade, broke up and marched towards Sabugal, where Marmont also went himself.

This movement obliged some of the detachments of the allied army, advanced in that quarter, to fall back; for Major General Victor Alten, who had been kept in front of Ciudad Rodrigo with the 1st hussars until the end of March, was followed (although at a distance) through Lower Beira, by Marshal Marmont's advanced guard; and having quitted Castello Branco on the 3th of April, they moved on; when the French advanced guard, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, of which were six squadrons of cavalry, entered Castello Branco on the evening of the 12th, obliging Brigadier General Le Cor, with his brigade of militia, to retire upon Sarnedos, when he saw the enemy advance.

About this period, Lord Wellington, having heard that General Alten had retired across the Tagus, sent directions for him to cross that river again; but he had no sooner done so, than the



French advanced guard retired from Castello Branco, which place was immediately taken possession of a second time by the united corps of Generals Alten and Le Cor.

As soon as Lord Wellington was apprised of Soult's retreat from Villa Franca, he immediately put the army in motion towards Castile; and on the 16th of April the British advanced guard was at Castello Branco.

As the British army continued its march towards Alfayates the enemy kept retiring before them: the last of them crossed the Agueda on the 23d of April, and on the following day they were in full retreat towards the Tormes.

The heavy rains which had fallen before the 13th and 19th had produced such torrents in the rivers, as to carry away the bridge which they had constructed on the Agueda, immediately above Ciudad Rodrigo; but they were enabled to repair it before the pursuing British came up, and the leading divisions of their army crossed by the Puente d' el Villar, and the fords of the upper Agueda; the rear only taking advantage of the bridge near Ciudad Rodrigo.

Up to the latter end of April the enemy continued their retreat; and as soon as Lord Wellington was certain of their having retired beyond the frontier, he directed Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill to carry into execution a plan of operations against their posts and establishments at the passage of the Tagus at Almaras.

Though Lord Wellington did not personally superintend this measure, yet, as forming a most conspicuous part of his plan of operations, it deserves particular notice here.

Owing to the necessary preparations for this expedition, Sir Rowland could not begin his march before the 12th of May, which he did with the 2d division of infantry, and attained his objects by taking by storm forts Napoleon and Ragusa, and the tete du pont and other works, by which the enemy's bridge was guarded; by destroying those forts and works, as well as the bridge and establishments; and by the capture of their maga-

zincs, with two hundred and fifty prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

The general importance of this measure, as connected with Lord Wellington's plan of future operations, may be drawn from the consideration that the road from Almaras affords the only good military communication across the Tagus, and from the Tagus to the Guadiana, below Toledo. All the permanent bridges below the bridge of Arzobispo had been destroyed during the war, by the different parties of belligerents, and the French had not been able to repair them; this one, indeed, destroyed at Almaras, was a bridge of boats, but Lord Wellington had good reason to believe that the enemy had not the means of repairing it.

In addition to this, the communications from the bridges of Arzobispo and Talavera to the Guadiana being very difficult, and not deserving of being considered as military communications for a large army, the evident result of this well laid, and well executed plan, was to cut off completely the shortest and best communication between the armies of the south and of Portugal; and, therefore, a leading incident in those manœuvres which enabled his lordship to catch Marmont single handed at the gallant affair of Salamanca.\*

\* It is a pleasing part of a biographer's task to mark in the present place the comprehensive mind of the gallant commander in chief in those arrangements; for we may see that even whilst preparing for himself a straight path to his subsequent harvest of laurels, he at the same time contrived to draw off some of the pressure of the French armies in the south from the patriots in that quarter, even whilst confining them within the limits of that very district.

Even this was of an importance which, though not immediately observable, was doubtless of considerable advantage; for we see that nearly about the time when the French troops, as already mentioned, marched from Seville towards the Condado de Niebla, another considerable detachment under Marshal Soult went towards the blockade of Cadiz, and it was even expected that the French in Andalusia would be strong enough to make another attack on Tariffa; but as soon as the enemy received early intelligence of Sir Rowland Hill's advance, they were forced to make movements on their left,

In the north, and on the side of Castile, the French seem to have been aware about this time of their awkward situation. In both Old and New Castile they were in motion, two of their divisions having been sent across the Tagus by the bridge of Arzobispo, and thence moved along the road to Deleytosa, in order to cover the withdrawing of their advanced post of Mirabete.

The whole of the allied army of Portugal also made a movement to their left; part of them being on the Tagus, and Mar-mont's head-quarters being moved from Salamanca to Fron-tieros.

Further north, General Bonnet, with his band of plunderers, had been able to do no better than to make two predatory excursions towards the frontiers of Galicia; but had again entered the Asturias, and resumed the possession of Oviedo and some other towns. Yet even there the Spaniards were beginning to exert themselves, and General Mendizábal was so far in their rear as to keep possession of the town of Burgos, though the enemy still retained the castle. Indeed, at this period, in all parts of the

whither General Drouet directed the troops under his command, arriving upon the Guadiana at Medellín on the 17th of May.

In this position was Sir William Erskine's division of cavalry, which had remained in Lower Estremadura with a part of the 2d division of infantry, and some other troops under Lieutenant General Hamilton. On the 18th of May a detachment of Drouet's cavalry drove in their piquets as far as Ribera; but though much superior in force, he did not venture to attack them.

Indeed, the effects of Soult's reinforcements to the besieging army at Cadiz might have been of considerable consequence as far as regarded the defence of that place; but this marshal found himself obliged to move from the blockade of Cadiz towards Cordova; and the troops which had marched from Seville into the Condado de Niebla found it necessary to return to Seville about the same period.

They were not in sufficient time, however, to check the gallant Hill; for he had attained his object, and returned to Truxillo, beyond all risk of being attacked by a superior force, long before the French troops were able to assemble; they, therefore, had no other alternative but to fall back upon Cordova.

country, the boldness and activity of the guerillas were constantly increasing; and their operations against the common enemy were daily becoming more and more important.

From this period until the middle of June the two armies kept nearly in sight of each other, but without attempting any thing on either side until the 13th of June, when the British troops crossed the Agueda, and marched forward in three columns, the troops under Don Carlos d'Espana forming a fourth; and the whole arrived upon the Valmusa, a rivulet about six miles from Salamanca, on the following day. The enemy on the 16th showed some cavalry, and a small body of infantry, in front of the town, and manifested a design to hold the heights on the south side of the Tormes, but their cavalry were immediately driven in by the British advance, and on that very evening they thought proper to evacuate Salamanca, leaving a garrison of about eight hundred men in the fortifications which they had erected on the ruins of the colleges and convents which they had demolished.

By the fire from these they protected the passage of the Tormes by the bridge; but this was unavailing, for the British troops crossed that river on the 17th, by two fords in the vicinity.

The forts were immediately invested by the 6th division under the command of Major General Clinton; and, having been accurately reconnoitred, it was necessary to break ground before them; this was done on the evening of the 17th, and every thing was immediately put in a state of preparation for commencing a fire from eight pieces of cannon at the distance of three hundred yards from the principal of the enemy's works, in hopes that the possession of it would produce the surrender of the rest.

It was impossible to describe the tumultuous joy of the people of Salamanca upon the entrance of the British troops. Lord Wellington was looked on as their saviour from French domination; indeed, much had they suffered for more than three years, during which time the French, among other acts of oppression, had destroyed thirteen of twenty-five convents, and twenty-two of twenty-five colleges which once existed in this celebrated seat of learning.

The enemy retired by the road to Toro; and their rear guard, so rapid was their progress, was fifteen miles from Salamanca in the evening. They continued their retreat by the same route on the ensuing morning, with the intent of collecting their army on the Douro between Toro and Zamora.

Marshal Marmont having collected his whole army on the Douro by the 19th of June, with the exception of General Bonnet's division, which was still left in the Asturias, and some trifling garrisons, he moved forward to oppose the British army on the 28th from Fuente Sabino.

Lord Wellington immediately formed the allied army, with the exception of the troops engaged in the operations against the forts in Salamanca, on the heights extending from the neighbourhood of Villares to Morisco; and the advanced posts of the cavalry and infantry retired upon the army in good order and without material loss.

The enemy remained in front during that night up to the evening of the 21st, on which night they established a post on the right flank of the British, the possession of which by them deprived the allies of an advantage which might eventually be of importance.

Lord Wellington, therefore, directed Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Graham to attack them in that post on the 22d, with the troops on the right under the command of Major Generals Hope and De Bernewitz.

The enemy were driven from the ground immediately with considerable loss; the assailants conducting themselves particularly well in this affair, which took place in sight of both armies. It is evident, therefore, that Marmont was unwilling to risk the bringing on a general action; and, indeed, he thought proper to retire with his whole force during the night, and on the following evening posted himself with his right on the heights near Cabeza Velloso, and his left on the Tormes at Huerta; his centre being at Aldia Rubra.

The object of the enemy in this manœuvre was to endeavour to communicate with the garrisons in the forts at Salamanca, by

the left of the Tormes; but Lord Wellington instantly developed their plan, and to counteract it, immediately changed the front of his army, placing his right at St. Martha, where there is a ford over the Tormes, and the advanced posts at Aldea Lingua: whilst Major General Bock's brigade of heavy dragoons was sent across the Tormes in order to observe the passages of the river.

The French crossed the Tormes at Huerta, about two o'clock of the morning of the 24th, in considerable numbers of cavalry, infantry, and artillery; and there was soon every appearance of a general movement in that direction. On this occasion the conduct of Major General Bock's dragoons was conspicuously good, as they did every thing in their power to make known the enemy's movements, and opposed their advance vigorously, under many disadvantages, in order to afford time for the dispositions necessary to be made on the occasion.

As soon as the Earl of Wellington was certain that the French had crossed the Tormes, he directed Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Graham to cross that river with the 1st and 7th divisions; and at the same time he sent over Major General Le Marchant's brigade of cavalry; and concentrated the remainder of the army between Moresco and Cabrerizos, keeping the advanced posts still at Aldea Lingua.

By noon, every thing being prepared for a general action, the enemy had advanced as far as Calvarissa de Abaxo; but Mar-mont, observing the disposition so judiciously made for his warm reception, thought proper to retire again in the afternoon to recross the Tormes at Huerta, and from thence to the position he had before occupied.\*

\* Up to this period, the army was so completely occupied, that the siege of the forts did not advance with the rapidity the gallant commander in chief had expected. Indeed, from the pains taken, and the expense incurred in their construction, he was prepared to meet with some difficulties, and provided an equipment accordingly; these difficulties were of a formidable nature; and the forts, three in number, each defending the other, were very strong, although not of a regular construction.

By the 25th of June there were breaches open in the convent of St. Vin-

These events were not only of importance to the general cause, but they tend also to display the character of the noble chieftain

centi, which was the principal work ; but these could not be attacked with propriety until the assailants should get possession of San Cayetano ; accordingly Major General Clinton made an attempt to carry that work by storm on the night of the 23d, the gorge having been completely damaged by the fire from the British batteries—but the attempt unfortunately failed, and Major General Bowes unhappily but gallantly fell.\*\*

Every nerve was now strained to hasten the reduction of those forts, in order that the British army might proceed further against the enemy ; and accordingly on the 26th, in the afternoon, the ammunition which was sent for having arrived, the fire was immediately recommenced upon the gorge of the redoubt of San Cayetano, in which a practicable breach was effected at about ten o'clock in the morning of the 27th, and the assailants had succeeded nearly about the same time in setting fire to the buildings in the large fort of St. Vincenti, by the fire from which the approach to San Cayetano by its gorge was defended.

The Earl of Wellington seized on the eventful moment, and instantly gave directions that the forts of San Cayetano and La Merced should be stormed ; and some little delay occurred, in consequence of the commanding officers of these forts in the first instance, and afterwards the commanding officer of St. Vincenti, having expressed a desire to capitulate after the lapse of a certain number of hours. As it was obvious, however, that those propositions were made in order to gain time, till the fire of St. Vincenti should be extinguished, his lordship refused to listen to any terms, unless the forts should be instantly surrendered ; and having found the commanding officer of San Cayetano, who was the first to offer to surrender, was entirely dependant upon the Governor of St. Vincenti, and could not venture to carry into execution the capitulation which he had offered to make, the earl immediately gave directions that the storm of that fort, and also of La Merced, should instantly take place.

This gallant assault was performed in the most undaunted manner by detachments of the 6th division, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Davies of the 36th regiment, under the direction of Major General Clinton. The troops entered the fort of San Cayetano by the gorge, and escalated

\*\* The gallant major general was so eager for the success of the enterprise, that he had gone forward with the storming party, which consisted of a part of his brigade, and was wounded ; and after his first wound was dressed, he returned again to the assault, and received a second wound which killed him. The loss besides, both in officers and men, was considerable.

in the most admirable point of view; perhaps, indeed, the most remarkable trait in his character upon this occasion was the modesty with which he himself acknowledged the disappointment of his own expectations; saying, that he was *mistaken* in his estimate of the extent of the means which would be necessary to subdue those forts, and was therefore obliged to send to the rear for a fresh supply of ammunition, thus necessarily causing a delay of six days.

As soon as the enemy heard of the fall of those forts, they immediately withdrew their garrison from Alba de Tormes; and indeed it may be said that the operations were carried on in sight

that of La Merced; the whole taking place with a very trifling loss on the part of the British.

The good effects of this rapidity of decision, and gallantry of execution, were soon apparent; for no sooner did the British flag display its united crosses through the retiring smoke, waving protection over those walls where the French eagle had screamed the cry of desolation, than the Governor of St. Vincent sent out to notify the surrender of that fortress, on the terms which had previously been offered. These were, that the garrison should march out with the honours of war; that they should be prisoners of war; and the officers to retain their personal military baggage, and the soldiers their knapsacks.

With his accustomed promptitude and humanity, his lordship deemed it expedient to accept the place by capitulation on those terms, and to put a stop to the attack; this was, however, a generous concession; for such were the judicious arrangements, and so ardent the impetuosity of the allied troops, that the 9th regiment of the Portuguese cacadores had stormed one of the outworks, and were actually at that moment in possession of it.

This was another lesson to the French that neither their industry nor their valour could withstand the shock of British perseverance and British gallantry; in fact, in less than three weeks were thus carried works which had taken nearly three years in constructing, and that with increased activity for the preceding nine months.

To make them tenable, a large expense had been incurred; and indeed those works being sufficiently garrisoned with about eight hundred men, and armed with thirty pieces of artillery, were thus of a nature to render it totally impossible to take them, excepting by a regular attack; and it was obvious that the French commander in chief relied upon their strength, and upon their being sufficiently garrisoned, and armed, as he had left in St. Vincent large depots of clothing, and military stores of every description.



of Marmont's army, which had remained in its position, with the right at Cabeza Velloso, and the left at Huerta, till the night of the 27th of June, when they broke up, and retired in three columns towards the river Douro; one of them directing its march upon Toro, and the others upon Tordesillas.

On the 28th Lord Wellington also broke up the cantonments of the allied army, and on the 30th of June they were encamped on the Guarena.\*

On the 1st of July the British broke up their encampment, and the enemy having retired from Alaejos, they encamped that evening on the Trabancos, with the advanced guard upon Nava del Rey. The Earl of Wellington having there got information that Marmont had destroyed the bridge of Tordesillas, he immediately gave orders for the British advanced guard to cross the Zapardiel, and to move upon Rueda, which took place on the morning of the 2d, supported by the left, whilst the right and centre of the army moved towards Medina del Campo.

It soon after appeared, however, that the enemy had not destroyed the bridge as reported; but that their main body had retired upon Tordesillas, whilst their rear guard was left at Rueda.

On this, Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton immediately attacked their rear guard with Major Generals Anson's and Alten's brigades of cavalry, and drove them in upon the main body at Tordesillas. As the right and centre of the British army were, however, at some distance, Lord Wellington was unable to bring up a sufficient body of troops in time to attack the enemy during their passage of the Douro, and accordingly they effected that operation with but little loss, taking their position on that river, with their right on the heights opposite Pollos, their centre at Tordesillas, and their left at Simancos in the Pisuerga.

\* The total loss in these affairs on the allied side was, 115 killed and 382 wounded. The prisoners amounted to 706---and yet Marshal Marmont has since declared that these garrisons caused a *greater* loss to the allies than their own number amounted to. Now it must be remembered that even this total of the allies killed and wounded did not absolutely take place at the attacks only, but in other partial affairs of the two armies between the 16th and 27th of June inclusive.

His lordship on the next day, the 3d of June, moved his left to Pollos, and obtained possession of the ford over the Douro at that place, in front of the positions of Marmont's right; but as the ford was scarcely practicable for infantry, and the enemy's corps were strongly posted, with a considerable quantity of artillery, on those heights already mentioned, which commanded the plain on which the British troops must have formed after crossing the ford, and as, at the same time, he could not with propriety establish the army on the right of the Douro until he had adequate means of passing that river, he did not at that moment think it prudent to push the advanced corps any further.\*

In the course of the 15th and 16th of June, the enemy moved all their troops to the right of their position on the Douro, and their army was concentrated between Toro and San Roman. A considerable body then passed the Douro at Toro on the 16th, when Lord Wellington immediately moved the allied army to their left on that night with an intention to concentrate on the Guarena. As the Earl of Wellington most candidly and modestly observed in his public despatches, it was totally out of his power to prevent Marmont from passing the Douro at any point which he might think expedient, as he had in his possession all the

\* General Bonnet, who in the latter end of June had been at Aquila del Campo, joined Marmont's army on the 7th of July. In fact, Marmont seems to have felt himself obliged to make every effort in his power to keep the British in check; and, in consequence of this, the moment Bonnet joined him he extended his line, pushing his right as far as Toro, where he began repairing the bridge which he had before destroyed.

Whilst the two grand armies were thus watching each other, Lieutenant General Hill was doing good service in the south, where he kept Soult so much in check, as to prevent him from making any diversion in favour of the army of Portugal.

General Hill broke up from Albuera on the 2d of the month, and moved upon his enemy, who retired before him to Cordova; on the 9th he was at Llerena, and at that time part of Soult's force had marched upon Fuente Ovejuna from Berlenga; and General Drouet, with ten thousand men, with a very small proportion of artillery, had marched through Campiolo, upon Zalamea. Such was the state of affairs in the south previous to the important events now approaching.

bridges over that river and many of the fords; however, he recrossed the Douro at Toro, on the night of the 16th, moved his whole army to Tordesillas, where he again crossed the river on the morning of the 17th, and there again assembled his army at Nava del Rey, having marched not less than ten leagues in the course of the 17th.

The 4th and light divisions of British infantry, and Major General Anson's brigades of cavalry, had marched to Castrejon on the night of the 16th, with a view to the assembling of the army on the Guarena, and were at Castrejon, under the orders of Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton, on the 17th, not having been ordered to proceed further, in consequence of his lordship having got information that the enemy had not passed the Douro at Toro; and there was not sufficient time to call them in between the hour at which he received the intelligence of the whole of the enemy's army being at La Nava and daylight of the morning of the 18th.

The Earl of Wellington, therefore, with a due regard to prudence, immediately took measures to provide for their retreat and junction, by moving his 5th division to Tordesillas de la Orden, and Major Generals Marchant's, Alten's, and Bock's brigades of cavalry to Alaejos.

Marmont's advance attacked the troops at Castrejon at dawn of day of the 18th; but Sir Stapleton Cotton maintained his post with great firmness, without suffering any loss, till the cavalry had joined him. Nearly about the same time, the enemy were enabled to turn by Alaejos the left flank of the British position at Castrejon.

These gallant troops now retired in admirable order to Tordesillas de la Orden, having the enemy's whole army on their flank, or in their rear; and thence to the Guarena, which river they passed under the same circumstances, and then effected their junction with the army.

The enemy were now enabled to take a very strong position on the heights on the right of the Guarena, a river which runs into the Douro, and is formed by four streams that unite about a

league below Canizel. In consequence of this, the Earl of Wellington immediately placed the 4th, 5th, and light divisions on the opposite heights, and directed the remainder of the army to cross the Upper Guarena at Vallesa, in consequence of the appearance of an intention on the part of the enemy to turn his right.

Shortly after this, however, Marmont crossed the Guarena at Cartello, below the junction of the streams, thereby manifesting an intention to press upon the left, and to enter the valley of Canizel. At this period, Major General Alten's brigade of cavalry, supported by the 3d dragoons, were already engaged with the enemy's cavalry, and had taken, among other prisoners, the French General Carriere; and his lordship immediately directed the honourable Lieutenant General Cole to attack, with Major General Anson's and Brigadier General Harvey's brigades of infantry, (the latter under the command of Colonel Stubbs,) the enemy's infantry, which were supporting their cavalry. He immediately attacked and defeated them with the 27th and 40th regiments, which advanced to the charge with bayonets, Colonel Stubbs' Portuguese brigade supporting, and the enemy gave way; many were killed and wounded; and Major General Alten's brigade of cavalry having pursued the fugitives, two hundred and forty prisoners were taken.

The enemy, on that day, did not make any further attempt upon the left; but having reinforced their troops on that side, and withdrawn those which had moved to their left, Lord Wellington immediately countermanded that part of the army at Vallesa.

On the 19th, in the afternoon, Marmont withdrew all his troops from his right, and marched to his left by Tarragona, apparently with an intention of turning the British right; but, with the most judicious rapidity, the gallant earl crossed the Upper Guarena at Vallesa and El Olmo with the whole of the allied army in the course of that evening and night; and then made every preparation for the battle which was expected to take place on the plain of Vallesa on the morning of the 20th.

Marmont, however, seems not to have relished this steady ap-

pearance of the British; for instead of bringing them to action, he made, shortly after daylight, another movement in several columns to his left, along the heights of the Guarena, which river he crossed below Santa la Piedra, and encamped that evening at Babila Fuente and Villa Mala; whilst the allied army made a correspondent movement to its right by Cantalpino, and encamped the same evening at Cabeza Velloso, the 6th division, and Major General Alten's brigade, being upon the Tormes at Aldea Lingua.

During these movements there were occasional cannonades, but without any loss on the side of the British.

On the 21st in the morning, the Earl of Wellington moved the left of the British army to the Tormes, where the whole was thus concentrated; and, at the same time, Marmont made a movement towards the river Huerta.

Through the whole of this manœuvring, the enemy's object was evidently to cut off the British communication with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo; but in this he was out-manœuvred, whilst on his side his out-lying posts found themselves so awkwardly situated, that they abandoned and destroyed the fort of Mirabete on the Tagus, so far back as the 14th, the garrison marching to Madrid, and there forming part of the army of the centre; in fact they were reduced to five days' provisions, and could no longer remain in a hostile country.

The important day, on which, perhaps, the fate of Spain depended, was now fast approaching; and on the 21st in the evening, Marmont crossed the Tormes with the greatest part of his troops, by the fords between Alba de Tormes and Huerta, moving by the left towards the roads leading to Ciudad Rodrigo.

The allied army, closely watching his movements, with the exception of the 3d division and General D'Urban's cavalry, likewise crossed the Tormes in the evening by the bridge of Salamanca, and the fords in the vicinity; when the Earl of Wellington placed those troops in a position, of which the right was

upon one of the two heights called *Dos Arapiles*, and the left on the *Tormes*, below the ford of *Santa Martha*.

o The 3d division, and Brigadier General D'Urban's cavalry, were left at *Cabrerizos*, on the right of the *Tormes*, as a precautionary measure on the part of his lordship, as the enemy had still a large corps on the heights above *Babilafuente*, on the same side of the river: and also, as he considered it not improbable that finding the British army prepared for them in the morning on the left of the *Tormes*, they would alter their plan, and manœuvre by the other bank.

The gallant and watchful earl received intelligence in the course of that night, the truth of which he could not doubt, that General *Clauzel* had arrived at *Pollos* on the 20th, with the cavalry and horse artillery of the army of the north, to join Marshal *Marmont*; and, as he was quite certain that these troops would be able to join him on the 22d or 23d at latest, it became an important object to hasten the action as much as possible.

During that night the enemy had taken possession of the village of *Calvarosa de Ariba*, and of the height near it, called *Nuestra Senora de la Pena*, the British cavalry still being in possession of *Calvarosa de Abexo*; and shortly after daylight on the morning of the 22d, detachments from both armies attempted to obtain possession of the more distant from the British right of the two hills called *Dos Arapiles*.

In this manœuvre *Marmont* succeeded, not, indeed, by superior gallantry or skill; but the French detachment being the strongest, and having been concealed in the woods nearer to it than the British detachment, he was enabled to take it by priority of occupation, thereby materially strengthening his own position, and affording himself increased means of annoying those of Lord Wellington.

In the early part of the morning, the light troops of the 7th division, and the 4th *caçadores*, belonging to General *Pack's* brigade, were engaged with the enemy on the height called

Nuestra Senora de la Pena; on which height they maintained themselves with the enemy throughout the day.

The possession by the enemy, however, of the more distant of the Arapiles rendered it necessary for Lord Wellington to extend the right of the British army, en potence, to the heights behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with light infantry; and for that purpose he placed there the 4th division, under the honourable Lieutenant General Cole; and although, from the variety of the enemy's movements, it was difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of Marmont's intentions, his lordship considered that, upon the whole, his objects were upon the left of the Tormes.

He, therefore, immediately ordered the honourable Major General Pakenham, who commanded the 3d division in the absence of Lieutenant General Picton on account of ill health, to move across the Tormes with the troops under his command, including Brigadier General D'Urban's cavalry, and to place himself behind Aldea Tejada; Brigadier General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry, and Don Carlos D'Espana's infantry having been moved up likewise to the neighbourhood of Las Torres, between the 3d and 4th divisions.

After a variety of evolutions and movements, Marmont appeared, at last, to have determined upon his plan, about two in the afternoon; and under cover of a very heavy cannonade, which, however, did the British but little damage, he extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops, and by his fire, the single post on the Arapiles, which Lord Wellington occupied, and from thence to attack and break the line; or, at all events, to render difficult any movement, on the part of the allies, to their right.

However daring, or even judicious, was this plan of Marmont's, yet it comprised within itself the primary elements of his defeat, when opposed to such a general as the gallant and discriminating Wellington; for, as his lordship observed, this extension of his line to its left, and its advance upon the British

right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave to the allied army an opportunity of attacking him, for which his lordship had long been anxious.

Lord Wellington, with a happy rapidity, seconded by the ardour of his gallant companions, immediately reinforced the right with the 5th division, under Lieutenant General Leith, which he placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division; and with the 6th and 7th divisions in reserve; and as soon as these troops had taken their stations, he directed the honourable Major General Pakenham to move forward with the 3d division, and General D'Urban's cavalry, and two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, under Lieutenant Colonel Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights, (thereby out-manceuvring him *in his own move*,) whilst Brigadier General Bradford's brigade, the 5th division under Lieutenant General Leith, the 4th division, under the honourable Major General Cole, and the cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th division, under Major General Clinton, the 7th division, under Major General Hope, whilst Don Carlos d'España's Spanish division, and Brigadier General Pack's, should support the left of the 4th division, by attacking that of Dos Arapiles, which the enemy held. The 1st and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve.

Such were the judicious movements which, with the eye of an eagle, the gallant Wellington saw at a glance were necessary to counteract the preconcerted hostile manœuvres in his front; and such were the names of those whose task it was to execute a plan so rapidly conceived, and so judiciously combined.

In fact, nothing could be more daring than the plan of his lordship, who thus changed a defence against the outflanking and attack of Marmont, into the very same movements upon his assailant!

This important attack upon the French left was instantly made:



according to the plan of the commander in chief, and as completely, and almost as instantly, succeeded. General Pakenham, fully comprehending the plan of his noble brother-in-law, formed the third division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew every thing that opposed him. These troops were supported in the most gallant style by the Portuguese cavalry, under Brigadier General D'Urban, and Lieutenant Colonel Hervey's squadrons of the 14th, who successfully defeated every attempt made by the enemy on the flank of the 3d division.

Whilst this was going on, Brigadier General Bradford's brigade, the 4th and 5th divisions, and the cavalry under Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton, attacked the enemy in front, and drove his troops before them from one height to another, bringing forward their right so as to gain strength upon the enemy's flank in proportion to their advance; and Brigadier General Pack at the same time made a very gallant attack upon the Arapiles, in which, however, he did not succeed, except in diverting the attention of the enemy's corps placed upon it from the troops under the command of General Cole in his advance.

The cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, now made a most gallant and successful charge against a body of the enemy's infantry which they completely overthrew and cut to pieces; but in this charge the gallant Major General Le Marchant was killed at the head of his brigade.

After the crest of the height was carried, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th division, which, after a severe contest, was obliged to give way, in consequence of the enemy having thrown some troops on the left of the 4th after the failure of General Pack's attack upon the Arapiles; and at this moment the honourable General Cole was wounded. But at this critical moment Marshal Sir William Beresford being on the spot, he immediately directed General Spry's brigade of the 5th division, which was in the 2d line, to change its front, and to bring its fire on the flank of the enemy's division; and whilst engaged in this service he received a severe wound, which, for

a long time afterwards, deprived the service of his active exertions.

Nearly about the same time, too, Lieutenant General Leith received a wound which unfortunately obliged him to quit the field; on which Lord Wellington, whose eye was everywhere, immediately ordered up the 6th division, under Major General Clinton, to relieve the 4th, and the battle was soon restored to its former success.

The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left, and by those which had now retired from the Arapiles, still continued to resist; on which Lord Wellington ordered the 1st and light divisions, and Colonel Stubbs' Portuguese brigade of the 4th division, which was reformed, and General Anson's brigade, to turn the right, whilst the 6th division, supported by the 3d and 5th, attacked the front.\*

It was dark before this point was carried by the 6th division, and the enemy fled through the woods towards the Tormes. His lordship immediately pursued them with the 1st and light divisions, and General Anson's brigade, and some squadrons of cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, as long as he could find any of them together, directing his pursuit upon Huerta, and the fords of the Tormes, by which the enemy had passed on in their advance; but the darkness of the night was highly advantageous

\* Nothing can more illustrate the gallantry of the commander in chief than the various anecdotes of the battle contained in different letters from the army; but to insert even the tenth part of them would far exceed our limits.

Clear as was his conception, and judicious as was his plan, nothing could be more concise than his orders:---to General Leith, who was ordered to the attack of the hill, he had only time to say, "Push on, and drive them to the devil!"---and when the business was over, and the different officers came round his lordship to congratulate him previous to his pursuit, he only smiled, and said, "*Marmont has forced me to lick him!*" Indeed, it is evident that his lordship would not have commenced the action even then, if it had not been for Marmont's blunder in extending his line, and thereby affording his lordship, as he himself observed, the opportunity he had so anxiously wished for. It was, in fact, a military game of draughts!

to the enemy, many of whom escaped under its cover who would otherwise have been made prisoners.\*

Lord Wellington renewed the pursuit at break of day, and Bock's and Anson's brigades of cavalry having come up in the night, and having crossed the Tormes, the pursuers were enabled to overtake the enemy's rear guard of cavalry and infantry near Le Serna; when they were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, and the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. On this occasion, his lordship observed, that he had never witnessed a more gallant charge than was now made on the enemy's infantry, the whole of which, three battalions, were made prisoners. The pursuit was continued until the evening of the 23d as far as Peneranza; whilst the scattered remains of Marmont's army passed through Flores de Avelin, and afterwards by Arevalo towards Valladolid, where they were joined by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the north, but too late to retrieve their broken fortunes.

It was difficult to ascertain exactly the enemy's loss in this brilliant action; but the acknowledgment which has since been made by Marmont himself,† renders it highly probable that the

\* Owing to this darkness it unfortunately happened that Sir Stapleton Cotton was wounded by one of the British sentinels, after the army had halted.

† The plain and modest account of this decisive and gallant action, from the pen of the Marquis of Wellington, certainly requires no comment; yet so much justice, though unwillingly, has been done to his gallantry and skill by the narrative of his rival, that we subjoin that account, in order to preserve and hand it down to posterity, as that document alone is sufficient to form the basis of his future fame.

*Report of Marshal the Duke of Ragusa, to the minister at war.*

Tudela, July 31.

“Monsieur—The interruption of the communications with France, since the opening of the campaign, having prevented me from giving you the successive accounts of the events which have passed, I shall commence this report from the moment at which the English began operations; and I am going to have the honour to place before you, in detail, all the movements which have been executed, to the unhappy event that has just taken place, and which we were far from expecting

“In the month of May I was informed the English army would open the campaign with very powerful means; I informed the king of it, in order that

estimate of 7,000 prisoners was not too much, as he acknowledged 6,000 *hors de combat*. There were also taken nearly

he might adopt such dispositions as he thought proper; and I likewise acquainted General Caffarelli with it, that he might take measures for sending me succours when the moment should have arrived.

“The extreme difficulty in procuring subsistence, the impossibility of provisioning the troops, when assembled, prevented me from having more than eight or nine battalions in Salamanca; but all were in readiness to join me in a few days.

“On the 12th of June the enemy’s army passed the Agueda; on the 14th, in the morning, I was informed of it; and the order for assembling was given to the troops. On the 16th the English army arrived before Salamanca.

In the night between the 16th and 17th I evacuated that town, leaving, nevertheless, a garrison in the forts I had constructed; and which, by the extreme activity used in their construction, were in a state of defence. I marched six leagues from Salamanca; and there, having collected five divisions, I approached that town; I drove before me the English advanced posts, and obliged the enemy’s army to show what attitude it reckoned upon taking; it appeared determined to fight upon the fine rising ground, and strong position, San Christoval. The remainder of the army joined me; I manœuvred round that position, but I acquired the certainty that it everywhere presented obstacles difficult to be conquered, and that it was better to force the enemy to come upon another field of battle, than enter into action with them upon ground which gave them too many advantages; besides, different reasons made me desire to prolong the operations, for I had just received a letter from General Caffarelli, which announced to me that he had collected his troops, and was going to march to succour me, whilst my presence would have suspended the siege of the fort of Salamanca. Things remained in this state for some days, and the armies in presence of each other, when the siege of the fort of Salamanca was vigorously recommenced.

“On account of the trifling distance which there was between the French army and the place, and by means of the signals agreed upon, I was every day informed of the situation of the place. Those of the 26th and 27th informed me the fort could still hold out five days; then I decided to execute the passage of the Tormes, and act upon the left bank. The fort of Alba, which I had carefully preserved, gave me a passage over that river, a new line of operations, and an important point of support. I made dispositions for executing this passage on the night between the 23th and 29th.

“During the night of the 27th the fire redoubled, and the enemy, fatigued with a resistance which to them appeared exaggerated, fired red hot balls upon the fort. Unfortunately its magazines contained a large quantity of wood; it caught, and in an instant the fort was a vast fire. It was impossible for the brave garrison, who defended it, to support at the same time the enemy’s at-

twenty pieces of cannon, ammunition wagons, two eagles, six colours, one general, three colonels, three lieutenant colonels,

tacks, and the fire which destroyed the defences, magazines, and provisions, and placed the soldiers themselves in the most dreadful situation. It was then obliged to surrender at discretion, after having had the honour of repulsing two assaults, and causing the enemy a loss of more than 1,300 men, viz. double their own force. This event happened on the 28th, at noon.

“The enemy, having no farther object in his operation beyond the Tormes; and, on the other hand, every thing indicating that it would be prudent to await the reinforcements announced in a formal manner by the army of the north, I decided on reapproaching the army of the Douro, secure of passing that river in case the enemy should march towards us, and there to take up a good line of defence, until such time as the moment for acting on the offensive should appear.

“On the 28th the army departed, and took a position on the Guarena; on the 29th, on the Trahajos; where it sojourned. The enemy having followed the movements with the whole of his forces, the army took a position on the Zapardiel; and on the 2d it passed the Douro at Tordesillas, a place which I chose for the pivot of my motions. The line of the Douro is excellent; I made in detail every disposition which might render sure a good defence of this river; and I had no cause to doubt my being able to defeat every enterprise of the enemy, in case they should attempt the passage.

“The 3d, being the day after that on which we passed the Douro, he made several assemblages of his forces, and some slight attempts to effect this passage at Pollos, a point which for him would have been very advantageous. The troops which I had disposed, and a few cannon shot, were sufficient to make him immediately give up his enterprise.

“In continual expectation of receiving succours from the army of the north, which had been promised in so solemn and reiterated a manner,\*\* I endeavoured to add, by my own industry, to the means of the army. My cavalry was much inferior to that of the enemy. The English had nearly 5,000 horse, English or German, without counting the Spaniards formed into regular troops; I had no more than 2,000. With this disproportion, in what manner could one manœuvre his enemy? How avail one's self of any advantage that might be obtained? I had but one means of augmenting my cavalry, and that was by taking the useless horses for the service of the army, or such as belonged to individuals who had no right to have them, or from such as had a greater number than they are allowed. I did not hesitate making use of this means, the imminent interest of the army, and the success of the operations, being at stake. I therefore ordered the seizure of such horses as were under this predicament; and I likewise seized a great number which were with a

\* This succour, which had been sent, could not join the army of Portugal till after the battle, and at the moment of retreat.

one hundred and thirty officers of inferior rank, whilst the number of dead on the field was very large. Marmont himself lost an arm, which was amputated after the action, and himself nearly

convoy coming from Andalusia; all upon estimation of their value, and making payment for them. This measure, executed with security, gave, in the space of eight days, 1,000 more horsemen; and my cavalry, reunited, amounted to more than 3,000 combatants. Meanwhile I no less hoped to receive succours from the army of the north, which continued its promises, the performance of which appeared to have commenced, but of which we have not hitherto seen any effect.

"The eighth division of the army of Portugal occupied the Asturias; these troops were completely isolated from the army, by the evacuation of the provinces of Leon and Benevente: they were without succours, and without any communication with the army of the north; because, on the one side, the Príncadores, who should have come from Bayonne, could not be sent to Gijon; and on the other side, the general in chief of the army of the north, although he had formally promised to do so, had dispensed with throwing a bridge over the Deba,"\* and there establishing posts. This division had been able to bring only very little ammunition for want of means of carriage; and this was in part consumed; nor did they know how to replace it. Its position might every moment become more critical, and the enemy seriously occupied himself with it; inasmuch as if it were still thus isolated, it would remain entirely unconnected with the important events which were taking place in the plains of Castile. General Bonnet, calculating on this state of matters, and considering, according to the knowledge he has of the country, that it is much easier to enter than depart out of it, according as the enemy might oppose the entrance or departure, he decided on evacuating this province, and on taking a position at Reynosa. There, having learnt that the army of Portugal was in presence of the English army, and that they were on the point of engaging, he did not hesitate in putting himself in motion, and rejoining it.

"Strongly impressed with the importance of this succour, and with the augmentation which my cavalry was about to receive; not having learnt any thing positive farther concerning the army of the north; and being besides informed of the march of the army of Galicia, which, in the course of a few days, would necessarily force me to send a detachment to repulse them, I thought it my duty to act without delay. I had to fear that my situation, which was become much ameliorated, might change, by losing time; whilst

\*\* Particular circumstances appear to have opposed the execution of this measure.

taken prisoner during the pursuit. Four general officers also were killed, and several wounded.

that of the enemy would, by the nature of things, become better every moment.

“ I therefore resolved on repassing the Donro; but this operation is difficult and delicate: it cannot be undertaken without much art and circumspection in presence of an army in condition for battle. I employed the days of the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of July, in making a number of marches and countermarches, which deceived the enemy. I feigned an intention to turn by Toro, and turned by Tordesillas, making an extremely rapid march. This movement succeeded so well, that the whole army could pass the river, move to a distance from it, and form itself, without meeting with a single enemy.

“ On the 17th the army took a position at Nava del Rey. The enemy, who was in full march for Toro, could only bring two divisions with celerity to Tordesillas de la Orden; the others were recalled from different parts to reunite themselves.

“ On the 18th, in the morning, we found these two divisions at Tordesillas de la Orden. As they did not expect to find the whole army joined, they thought they might, without peril, gain some time. Nevertheless, when they saw our masses coming forward, they endeavoured to effect their retreat to a ridge which commanded the village to which we were marching.

“ We had already reached it. If I had had a cavalry superior or equal to that of the enemy, these two divisions would have been destroyed. We did not, however, pursue them the less, with all possible vigour; and, during three hours' march, they were overpowered by the fire of our artillery, which I caused to take them in the rear and flank, and which they could with difficulty answer; and, protected by their numerous cavalry, they divided themselves to reascend the Guarena, in order to pass it with the greatest facility.

“ Arrived upon the heights of the valley of Guarena, we saw that a portion of the English army was formed upon the left bank of that river. In that place the heights of that valley are very rugged, and the valley of a middling breadth. Whether it was necessary for the troops to approach the water, on account of the excessive heat, or whether it was from some other cause of which I am ignorant, the English general had placed the greater part of them on the bottom of the valley, within half cannon shot of the heights of which we were masters; I, therefore, upon arriving, immediately ordered a battery of forty pieces of artillery to be planted, which in a moment forced the enemy to retire, after having left a great number of killed and wounded upon the spot. The army marched in two columns; and I had given the command

Such an advantage could not be gained without an adequate loss on the British side, but it was not of a magnitude to distress the army, or to cripple its operations.

of the right column, distant from that of the left three quarters of a league, to General Clausel. Arrived upon this ground, General Clausel, having few troops before him, thought he was able to seize upon the two rising grounds upon the left bank of the Guarena, and preserve them; but this attack was made with few troops, his troops had not halted, and scarcely formed; the enemy perceived it, marched upon the troops, which he had thus thrown in advance, and forced them to retreat. In this battle, which was of short duration, we experienced some loss. The division of dragoons which supported the infantry vigorously charged all the English cavalry; but General Carrier, a little too far advanced from the 13th regiment, fell into the enemy's power.

"The army remained in its position all the night of the 19th; it even remained in it all the day of the 20th. The extreme heat, and the fatigue experienced on the 18th, rendered this repose necessary to assemble the stragglers.

"At four in the evening the army resumed its arms, and defiled by the left to proceed up the Guarena, and take a position in front of Olmo. My intention was, at the same time, to threaten the enemy, and continue to proceed up the Guarena, in order to pass it with facility; or if the enemy marched in force upon the Upper Guarena, to return by a rapid movement upon the position they should have abandoned. The enemy followed my movement.

"On the 20th, before day, the army was in motion to ascend the Guarena; the advanced guard rapidly passed that river, at that part where it is but a stream, and occupied the commencement of an immense piece of ground, which continued without any undulation to near Salamanca. The enemy endeavoured to occupy the same ground, but could not succeed; then he attempted to follow a parallel rising ground, connected with the position they had just quitted, and which everywhere offered them a position, provided I should have marched towards them. The two armies thus marched parallel with all possible celerity, always keeping their masses connected, in order to be every moment prepared for battle. The enemy, thinking to be beforehand with us at the village of Cantalpino, directed a column upon that village, in the hope of being before us upon the rising ground which commands it, and towards which we marched; but their expectations were deceived. The light cavalry which I sent thither, and the 8th division, which was at the head of the column, marched so rapidly, that the enemy were obliged to abandon it; besides, the road from the other plain approaching too close to ours, and that which we had having the advantage of commanding it with some



The only officer of high rank who fell was Major General Le Marchant, to whom we may add Lieutenant Colonel Barlow of

pieces of cannon, judiciously placed, greatly annoyed the enemy ; for a great part of the army was obliged to defile under this cannon, and the remainder was obliged to repossess the mountain to avoid them. At last I put the dragoons in the enemy's track. The enormous number of stragglers which were left behind would have given us an opportunity of making 3,000 prisoners, had there been a greater proportion between our cavalry and theirs ; but the latter, disposed so as to arrest our pursuit, to press the march of the infantry by blows from the flat sides of their sabres, and to convey those who could no longer march, prevented us. Nevertheless there fell into our hands between 3 and 400 men, and some baggage. In the evening, the army encamped upon the heights of Aldea Rubea, having its posts upon the Tormes. The enemy reached the position of San Christoval.

" On the 21st, having been informed that the enemy did not occupy Alba de Tormes, I threw a garrison into it. The same day I passed the river in two columns, taking my direction by the skirts of the woods, and establishing my camp between Alba de Tormes and Salamanca. My object in taking this direction was to continue the movement by my left, in order to drive the enemy from the neighbourhood of Salamanca, and fight them with greater advantage. I depended upon taking a good defensive position, in which the enemy could undertake nothing against me ; and in short come near enough to them to take advantage of the first faults they might make, and vigorously attack them.

" On the 22d in the morning, I went upon the heights of Calbaraca de Azzeva to reconnoitre the enemy. I found a division which had just arrived there ; others were in march for the same place. Some firing took place for the purpose of occupying the posts of observation, of which we respectively remained masters. Every thing announced that it was the enemy's intention to occupy the position of Tejares, which was a league in the rear of that in which he then was, distant a league and a half from Salamanca. They, however, assembled considerable forces upon this point ; and, as their movement upon Tejares might be difficult if all the French army was in sight, I thought it right to have it ready to act as circumstances required.

" There were between us and the English some isolated points called the Arapiles. I ordered General Bonnet to occupy that which belonged to the position we ought to take ; his troops did so with promptitude and dexterity. The enemy ordered theirs to be occupied, but it was commanded by ours at 250 toises distance. I had destined this point, in the event of there being a general movement by the left, and a battle taking place, to be the pivot and point of support of the right to all the army. The first division had orders to occupy and defend the ridge of Calbaraca which is protected by a large and

of the 61st. Amongst the wounded, however, were Lieutenant Generals Cotton, Leith, Cole; Major General Allen; Lieutenant

deep ravine. The 5d division was in the 2d line, destined to support it, and the 2d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, were at the head of the wooden masse, behind the position of Arapiles, and could march equally on all sides; whilst the 7th division occupied the left head of the wood, which formed a point extremely uneven and of very difficult access, and which I had lined with 20 pieces of artillery. The light cavalry was charged to clear the left, and place itself in advance of the 7th division. The dragoons remained in the 2d line, to the right of the army. Such were the dispositions made towards the middle of the day.

“The enemy had his troops parallel to me, extending his right by leaning towards the mountain of Tejares, which always appeared to be his point of retreat.

“There was in front of the ridge occupied by the artillery another vast ridge, easy of defence, and which had a more immediate effect on the enemy's movements. The possession of this ridge gave me the means, in case I should have manœuvred towards the evening, of carrying myself on the enemy's communications on Tamames. This post, which was otherwise well occupied, was inexpugnable; and in itself completed the position which I had taken. It was, besides, indispensably necessary to occupy it, seeing that the enemy had reinforced his centre, from whence he might push forward en masse on this ridge, and commence his attack by taking this important point.

“In consequence, I gave orders to the 5th division to take position on the right extremity of this ridge, the fire from which exactly crossed that from Arapiles; to the 7th division, to place itself in a second line to support this; to the 2d to hold itself in reserve to the latter; and to the 6th to occupy the ridge at the head of the wood, where a large number of pieces of artillery were yet remaining. I gave like orders to General Bonnet, to cause the 122d to occupy a point situated between the great ridge and the point of Arapiles, which defended the entrance of the village of Arapiles; and, finally, I gave orders to General Boyer, commandant of the dragoons, to leave a regiment to clear the right of General Foy, and to push the three other regiments to the front of the wood, on the flank of the second division, in such manner as to be able, in case the enemy should attack the ridge, to attack them by the the right of this ridge, while the light cavalry should charge his left.

“The most part of these movements were performed with irregularity. The 5th division, after having taken the post assigned to it, extended itself on its left, without any cause or reason. The 7th division, which had orders to support it, marched to its position; and, in short, the 2d division was still in the rear. I felt all the consequences which might result from all these irregularities, and I resolved on remedying them myself on the spot, which was a very easy matter, the enemy not as yet having made any movement at

Colonels Elley, Barnes, Kingsbury, Bird, Cuyler, Ellis, Miles, Bingham, Williams, and May.

all. At the same time, I received the report of the enemy having caused fresh troops to pass from his left to his right; I ordered the 3d and 4th division to march by the skirts of the wood, in order that I might dispose them as I found needful. It was half past four o'clock, and I went to the ridge, which was to be the object of a serious dispute; but at this moment a shell struck me, broke my right arm, and made two large wounds on my right side: I thus became incapable of taking any kind of part in the command.

"The precious time which I should have employed in rectifying the placing of the troops on the left, was fruitlessly passed; the absence of the commander gives birth to anarchy and from thence proceeds disorder;\*" meanwhile the time was running away without the enemy undertaking any thing. At length, at five o'clock the enemy, judging that the situation was favourable, attacked this ill formed left wing with impetuosity. The divisions engaged repulsed the enemy, and were themselves repulsed in their turn, but they acted without concert and without method. The division which I had called to sustain that point found themselves in the situation of taking part in the combat without having foreseen it.

"Every general made extraordinary efforts to supply, by his own particular dispositions, such as were on the whole requisite; but if he could attain it in part, yet he could not attain it completely. The artillery covered itself with glory, performed prodigies of valour, and in the midst of our losses caused the enemy to suffer enormously. He directed his attacks against Arapiles, which was defended by the brave 120th regiment, and was there repulsed, leaving more than 300 dead on the spot. At length the army evacuated the ridges, and retired to the skirts of the wood, where the enemy made fresh efforts. The division of Foy, which, by the nature of the business, was charged with the covering the retrograde movements, was attacked with vigour, and constantly repulsed the enemy. This division merits the greatest eulogy, as does likewise its general. From this moment, the retreat was effected towards Alba de Tormes, without being disturbed by the enemy. Our loss amounted to about 6,000 men *hors de combat*.

"We have lost nine pieces of cannon, which, being dismounted, could not be carried off; all the rest of the baggage, all the park of artillery, all the materials belonging to the army, have been brought away.

\*\* General Bonnet, who would have succeeded to the command as the oldest general of division, was wounded a few moments after the general in chief. This event contributed to prolong the uncertainty, and the want of unity of action.

The total British loss, during the day, and through the pursuit, amounted to 500 killed, 3,071 wounded, and 101 missing. Por-

"It is difficult, M. Le Duc, to express to you the different sentiments which agitated me at the fatal moment, when the wound which I received caused my being separated from the army. I would with delight have exchanged this wound for the certainty of receiving a mortal stroke at the close of the day, to have preserved the faculty of command; so well did I know the importance of the events which had just taken place, and how necessary the presence of the commander in chief was at the moment when the shock of the two armies appeared to be preparing, to give the whole direction to the troops, and to appoint their movements. Thus one unfortunate moment has destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations, of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and which every thing seemed to presage to us that we should reap the fruit of."

"On the 23d the army made its retreat from Alba de Tormes, on Penaranda, taking its direction towards the Douro; the whole of the enemy's cavalry harassed our rear guard, composed of the cavalry of the 1st division. This cavalry fell back, and left the division too much engaged; but it formed itself in squares to resist the enemy. One of them was broken, the others resisted, and especially that of the 69th, which killed 200 of the enemy's horse by push of bayonet; after this time they made no attempt on us.

"General Clausel has the command of the army, and takes such measures as circumstances require. I am going to have myself transported to Burgos, where I hope by repose, and care taken, to recover of the severe wounds that I have received, and which afflict me more from the dire influence which they have had on the success of the army, than from the sufferings which they have caused me to endure.

"I cannot do sufficient justice to the bravery with which the generals and colonels have fought, and to the good disposition which animated them in that difficult circumstance. I ought particularly to mention General Bonnet, whose reputation has been so long established. I should likewise name General Tanpin, who commanded the 6th division. General Clausel, though wounded, did not quit the field, but to the end, gave an example of great personal bravery. The general of artillery Tidot, and Colonel Digion, commanding the reserve of artillery, particularly distinguished themselves. On this day, unfortunate as it has been, there are a multitude of traits worthy of being noticed, and which honour the French name. I will collect them, and solicit from his majesty rewards for the brave men who have deserved them. I ought not to defer mentioning the conduct of the brave sub-lieutenant Guillemat, of the 118th regiment, who sprung into the enemy's ranks to obtain a flag, which he seized, after having cut off the arm of the person who carried it; he has brought this flag into our ranks, notwithstanding the severe bayonet wounds he has received.

tuguese, 338 killed 1,648 wounded, and 207 missing. Spaniards, 2 killed, and 4 wounded; making a grand total of 840 killed, 4,723 wounded, and 308 missing.

Up to the 30th, the British army continued the pursuit, and made many prisoners; being that day at Olmedo, about which time part of the fugitives crossed the Douro, whilst the remainder, consisting of the left wing, proceeded for Tudela.\*

It appears that the intrusive Joseph left Madrid on the 21st, with the army of the centre, supposed to consist of from ten to twelve thousand infantry, and from two to three thousand cavalry directing his march by the Escorial, towards Alba de Tormes. He arrived at Blasco Sanchez, between Avila and Arevalo, on the 25th, where he heard of the defeat of Marmont, and judged it most prudent to retire that very evening, through Villa Castin to Espinar; after which he directed his march with all haste to

"We have to regret the loss of the general of division Ferey, dead of his wounds, of General Thomieres, killed upon the field of battle, and of General Desgraviers. Generals Bonnet and Clausel, and the general of brigade, Menne, are wounded.

"I beg your excellency to receive the assurances of my high consideration.

"Signed, (with the left hand),

"*The Marshal Duke of Ragusa.*"

\* A melancholy and affecting occurrence took place, immediately after the battle, in a visit paid by an English lady to the fatal field, where she found the body of her gallant fallen husband. This was the amiable wife of Captain Prescott of the 7th fuzileers. She was thus left a widow in a foreign country, with two infant orphans to protect! but the humanity of British officers did every thing to alleviate her loss!

"Lord Wellington who, whenever there is an action, gets into *the thick of it*, had some hairbreadth and miraculous escapes; he had balls passed through almost every part of his clothes; nay, it was said that one of his holsters was shot away, and his thigh slightly grazed with a ball.

"When the enemy had crossed the Douro, and had reached Valladolid, Marmont sent an aid-de-camp to his lordship, requesting permission to remain there without being considered as a prisoner of war; but to such a proposal his lordship could not listen."

Segovia; for so hard was he pressed that, shortly after his departure from Blasco Sancho, two officers and twenty-seven men of his own cavalry were taken prisoners by a patrol of the British.

To describe the tumultuous joy which took place at home on this occasion is totally unnecessary; or to expatiate on the three days of continued illuminations, &c.—it is sufficient to say that on the 18th of August his royal highness the prince regent created the gallant earl a marquis of the united kingdom; he having, before that, been elevated by the Spanish regency to the rank of a grandee of Spain, with the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and created a Knight of the Golden Fleece.

In addition to his other honours, his royal highness also granted an armorial augmentation in the dexter quarter; of an “escutcheon charged with the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, being the union badge of the united kingdom, as a lasting memorial of his glorious and transcendent achievements.”

It ought to be noticed also that the Portuguese regency, in addition to the title of Condé de Vimiera had latterly created him a marquis in that kingdom, with the title of Torres Vedras.

His recent appointment of generallissimo of the Spanish army, is not only an honourable mark of gratitude, but also a most judicious mark of confidence; and one which, by producing unity of design and simultaneity of execution, may tend most efficaciously to the liberation of the Peninsula.

## SECTION X.

Salamanca—Anecdotes of its occupancy—Great change in the Spaniards in favour of the British—Scandalous conduct of the French—Spanish constitution proclaimed—Retreat of the intrusive king—Exertions of the Spanish armies—Entrance to Valladolid—Affairs in the south—Gallant exertions of the cavalry—Affair of Hinojosa—Concentration and partial advance of the army of Portugal—Capture of Astorga by the patriots—Operations of the guerillas in the vicinity of Bilbao—Defeat of the French columns by Mendizabel—Services of the British squadron—British advance to Segovia—Check of the Portuguese cavalry—The Marquis enters Madrid—Capture of the Retiro—Interesting anecdotes of the evacuation and entrance of the capital—Proclamation of the Spanish constitution—Return of the juramentados to allegiance—Metropolitan addresses to the marquis—Siege of Cadiz raised—Anecdotes of the preceding blockade—Gallant attack of the French at Seville—Recovery of that city—Expedition from Sicily—Its operations—Pursuit of the French army in the north—Affair at Valladolid, &c.—Occupation of Burgos—Siege of the castle, and other interesting occurrences, &c. &c. &c.

THE British head-quarters were again fixed at Salamanca. The change which this elegant town had undergone since it became a French depot was highly illustrative of the horrors of war.

But the greatest change observable in Salamanca, since its former occupation by the army under Sir John Moore, was not so much the ruin and havoc which everywhere met the eye, as the change in the manners and sentiments of the inhabitants of this learned and polished city.

When the British army were there formerly, the austerity and haughtiness of the inhabitants was observable in every thing; the British were received with coolness everywhere, and neither officers, men, nor general, were treated with much consideration; but a four years' residence of the French among them had then opened their eyes, and made the greatest imaginable change.

It was now beyond civility everywhere; the whole British army, officers and men, were not only treated kindly, but caressed; and the poor people seemed anxious to share their purses, their effects in short, every thing they had, with them; nay, to

give them up all, upon one condition---that of keeping away the villanous French from them.

On the 1st of August the new constitution was proclaimed with due solemnity at Salamanca, all public orders attending and taking the oaths, the *grandees* who had returned, the heads of religious houses, heads of colleges, municipality, and military.

On the 3d of August a grand *Te Deum* was performed at the cathedral; there was also a bull fight, and in the evening a grand ball; the theatre being likewise open every night. In short, if appearances were to be believed, the Spanish natives, wherever our troops now arrived, seemed determined to preserve and to enjoy their liberties.

The operations of the two armies, after this decisive and sanguinary action, are too deserving of detail to be passed slightly over; accordingly, we must notice that the French army of the centre, after having passed through the Guadarama pass, and after its head had arrived at the Venta de San Raphael, returned to Segovia, where Joseph Bonaparte arrived on the night of the 27th of July.

The object of this movement was apparently to divert the allied troops from the pursuit of the army of Portugal, and to enable the latter to maintain themselves upon the Douro; in which, however, the enemy did not succeed. Their rear guard remained in some strength on the left of the Douro, during the 28th and 29th; but the light and 1st divisions, and the cavalry, having crossed the Eresma and Cega rivers on the latter day, the enemy's rear guard retired during the night across the Douro, and thence followed the movements of the main body towards Villa Vanez, abandoning Valladolid, and leaving there seventeen pieces of cannon, a large quantity of shot and shells, and other stores, and their hospital with about eight hundred sick and wounded.

The Spaniards were not idle at this time in their various detached parties; and on the 30th, the general in chief of that district, Macquinez, took three hundred prisoners in the neighbourhood of Valladolid; and at the same period, the allied advanced guard crossed the Douro, and entered Valladolid, in which, as



the marquis himself observed, he had the satisfaction of being received by the people with the same enthusiastic joy as he had been in all other parts of the country.

The army of Portugal having thus crossed and quitted the Douro, it was necessary to attend to the movements of the army of the centre, and to prevent a junction between the two on the Upper Douro, which report stated to be intended.

On the 31st of July the British head-quarters were at Portello; and on that morning Lord Wellington and his staff entered Valladolid.

The enthusiasm with which his lordship was received was beyond all description; and he was met by the magistracy in their full order, accompanied by Don Julian Sanchez, who had arrived before him.\*

\* " Villavanez, August 2, three leagues from Valladolid.

" On the 30th we entered Valladolid; two squadrons of the 12th light dragoons had the honour of escorting Lord Wellington on his *entrée*, and were the only British troops who entered the town; the reception was flattering; and, if we were to trust to appearances, the people must have been in great joy; shouts of *viva los Ingleses* almost stunned us. His lordship was received with all the honours of war, by Martinez's corps of guerillas in the Plaza Major. The windows of the square were crowded with people, whose exclamations corresponded with the pedestrian spectators. The French left in the town 600 men, mostly sick and wounded, whom we took prisoners. Before their departure they destroyed a large quantity of stores, wagons, arms, &c. and blew up the bridge over the Pisuegra, near the town. The bridge over the Douro, at Tudela, is also destroyed. King Joseph is watched by the 3d, 4th, and 7th divisions, the heavy German, and General D'Urban's Portuguese cavalry, which are very fine troops.

" The general officers on both sides have not been neglected by the balls. Marmont's wound is severe; the irritation of his mind increases it much. General Ferrier died of his wounds at Almeida. The enemy are retiring towards Burgos and Aranda; from the former we are thirteen leagues, from the latter eight. The guerillas are active against stragglers and small bodies; at Mugas, four leagues hence, they killed seven and took five yesterday. We, who have the advance, have but little spare time; we mount every morning at two o'clock, and pass sometimes twelve and fourteen hours on horseback.

" A French officer at Valladolid said that the army never had so severe a business."

The marquis immediately took the route for Madrid; and, whilst the advanced guard and the left continued the pursuit of the army of Portugal, moved the right along the Cega to Cuellar, where he arrived on the 1st of August.

On that very day Joseph Bonaparte retired from Segovia, early in the morning, and marched through the Guadarama pass. On this occasion he left at Segovia an advanced guard, principally of cavalry, under General Espert; but destroyed the cannon and ammunition which were in the castle.

On the 3d of August the marquis detached a force under Brigadier General D'Urban to occupy Segovia, and at the same time it appears that Marmont's army were still continuing their retreat towards Burgos; whilst, in Estremadura, the enemy were endeavouring to increase their force.

At this period the war was carried on with additional lustre to the British arms in all parts of the Peninsula, particularly in the south, near Los Santos, where a considerable force was stationed under Lieutenant General Sir William Erskine as part of Sir Rowland Hill's army.

On the 24th of the preceding month (July) a body of the enemy's cavalry, consisting of two regiments of dragoons and one of chassours, under the command of general of brigade Almand, attacked, early in the morning, the Portuguese piquet at Iñojosa, which they drove in as far as Ribera, where four squadrons of Portuguese cavalry were stationed, under the command of Colonel Campbell.

This force being greatly inferior to that of the assailants, Colonel Campbell was under the necessity of retiring upon Villa Franca, which he did in the best order: at the same time Major General Long advanced from Villa Franca with the brigade of British cavalry under his command, and Captain Lefebure's troop of horse artillery to support him.

The major general, indeed, had received the report of the enemy's advance upon Ribera too late to admit of his guarding against their occupation of that town, and the commanding heights in its vicinity; besides, the accounts of his force were

at first so differently represented, that, there being three troops of the brigade absent, he thought it not advisable to act against him until they could be recalled; and as the attempt to dislodge him might bring on a serious affair on ground on which all the advantages were on the enemy's side, he was anxious, therefore, to secure the support of the 3d dragoon guards stationed at Fuente del Maestre, and to wait for the report of what might be passing on the side of Usagre, before he commenced any offensive movement. Then finding upon the arrival of the patrol from Usagre that no enemy was in that neighbourhood, he directed the troops he had with him to proceed against the enemy in front.

The brigade under Almand, on perceiving the advance of the force under General Long, halted on the high ground betwixt Ribera and Villa Franca; and, during the interval of halt on both sides, Sir William Erskine directed Major General Slade, with two regiments of his brigade, to move from Los Santos, and direct his march on the left flank and rear of the enemy.

On the advance of General Long, though with a very inferior force, the enemy immediately retired across the river, which enabled him to bring up his artillery on the heights they had relinquished, and to employ it with evident and very great effect, and afterwards to continue his advance and pursuit, as rapidly as was consistent with prudence, under all those circumstances, even beyond the defile of Hinojosa; where, from the lateness of the hour, and the fatigue sustained by the troops, he thought it prudent to halt.

At Hinojosa the two regiments under Major General Slade joined Major General Long's brigade, though not in time to cut off the retreat.

This little affair sufficiently established the allied superiority, though inferior in numbers; but the French loss, from their retiring so early, was very small, only amounting to thirty men and many horses killed, with eleven men and about thirty horses taken, whilst, on the allied side, there were only one man killed and seven wounded.

In the north of Spain, when the Marquis of Wellington transferred his head-quarters to Cuellar, the Gallician divisions, then occupying La Nava and Pollos, crossed the Douro again, and General Santocildes established his head-quarters in Valladolid. On the 7th of August Tordesillas capitulated, and the siege of Toro was undertaken, but with means very insufficient.

On the 12th of August the enemy advanced, with about seven thousand infantry and one thousand five hundred cavalry, from Palencia towards Valladolid, which then was only occupied by one battalion. On this advance, General Santocildes found himself compelled to retire, taking the road by Torrelobaton towards Villalpando.

The French now advanced towards Toro; and it was ascertained that their objects were to relieve Toro and Zamora, and then to march to Astorga, to raise the siege, and, having withdrawn the garrison, to destroy the works.

General Santocildes immediately withdrew the Spanish troops which were before Toro, and that place was instantly abandoned by the enemy; after which the Spanish general, having collected all his force at Bolver, on the Rio Seco, commenced his retreat on Benevente, near which place the enemy's cavalry came up with that of the 6th army, (about 400,) and in the affair which followed sustained some loss.

On the 19th of August Astorga surrendered, when the French troops had already reached La Baneza in advance to its relief; but they immediately retired from thence on hearing of the capture of that place; a loss to them of great importance, and to prevent which they had commenced the before-mentioned operations.

On retiring from La Baneza, the French troops took the direction of Zamora; but evacuated that place on the morning of the 27th of August, retiring by Toro to Valladolid, when the Gallician army again moved forward, and at the close of the month occupied cantonments on the *Esla*, in the towns and villages near Villamanan, as will be more fully noticed.

The exertions of the Spanish troops in the direction of Bilboa, also, are too important to be slightly passed over. About the 13th

of August General Rouget, with a force of nearly three thousand men, advanced from Durango to attack Bilboa. General Renovales immediately took up a position on the left bank of the river, having his right on the heights of Bolueta and Ollargan, defending the new bridge of Bolueta; his reserve at Castragana. As soon as the enemy's force was ascertained, General Renovales formed his plan of attack; part of the vanguard and Campillo's regiment were to pass the river at Portugalette, and proceed to the heights of Santo Domingo, to attack the enemy's right at day-break on the 14th, whilst General Porlier, with the vanguard, attacked the enemy who were in possession of the two bridges in the town; and the troops at the bridge of Bolueta and the heights of Ollargan were to attack the enemy's left, which was strongly posted on the heights of Begona and El Morro.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 14th the attack commenced with great vigour, and after a heavy fire of four hours the enemy were driven from the bridges of the town, and from the heights of Begona and Morro; and at nine o'clock they commenced a precipitate retreat towards Zornosa, pursued by General Renovales' division, and the vanguard, headed by Porlier: but had the troops which were to have attacked the enemy's right arrived at the appointed time, the victory would have been most complete; and probably General Rouget, with the greater part of his troops, would have been cut off from Durango.

Their loss on this occasion far exceeded that of the Spaniards, which was very small in comparison with the magnitude of the advantage.

The steadiness of the new raised troops of General Renovales' division proved what the Spaniards might be under proper discipline; much, indeed, was certainly owing to that officer himself, who is stated to have been indefatigable in his exertions to complete and to organize his force.

On the 15th the Spanish army occupied Galdacano and Zornosa, with their advance close to Durango, which place the enemy had taken great pains to strengthen, having some artillery on the bridge of Yurreta, and occupying several houses in that

town, besides having an encampment on its left, on the heights of Santa Lucia and Betuno.

On the night of the 20th information was received at the Spanish head-quarters, that the enemy were advancing to the attack, and that a column had marched to Orduña, the high road from which to Bilboa joins the road from Zornosa to the latter place, about a mile distant from it. On this information, General Mendizabel determined to fall back and wait for the enemy on the left bank of the river, in nearly the same position as that occupied by General Renovales in the preceding affair.

On the night of the 21st the French advanced from Durango in three columns; two of which came by way of Zornosa, and the other by Villero, with a view of getting possession of the heights that led from Arrigorriaga, and flanked those of Bolueta, which latter formed the right and key of the Spanish position. Renovales' division occupied the ground from those heights of Bolueta to those of Olaviaga, which supported the left, covering the bridge of St. Anton, the wooden bridge, and the bridge of boats.

At daybreak on the morning of the 22d, General Mendizabel, with part of the vanguard, proceeded to attack the column approaching by Villero, directing that the division of Iberia should meet him at Arrigorriaga. Dispositions were now made on the part of the Spaniards which seemed to ensure the destruction of that column; but the enemy, on finding them in possession of the bridge of Arrigorriaga and the roads leading to Bilboa, changed their direction, and by a most rapid march, favoured by the thickness of the woods, effected their junction with the second column, which was destined to make a simultaneous attack upon the bridge of Bolueta.

General Mendizabel with his vanguard, and Longar's division, arrived there in time to resist the enemy's attack; their principal efforts being directed to force the Bolueta bridge, which was defended in the most gallant manner. Here the French suffered considerably without gaining a foot of ground: and their efforts on the left of the line proved equally unsuccessful: for General

Renovales at the head of his brave peasant soldiers met their attack in every point.

On the left the French attempted in vain to force the two bridges of the town, and that of boats; and, night coming on, they retired to their position on the heights of Santo Domingo el Morro and Begona.

Arrangements were now made by General Mendizabel for a combined attack on the French position; but finding that they had, upon being attacked by Renovales, who crossed the river in front of the heights of Banderos early in the night, commenced their retreat, no time was lost in pursuing them; and notwithstanding the great advantage they had in point of time, yet from the rapidity with which the division of Iberia marched, the pursuers came up with the fugitives near the town of Zornosa, and attacked the rear with such vigour that this retreat became a confused and disorderly flight; insomuch that they did not even avail themselves, as they might have done, of several strong positions which the road from Zornosa to Durango presents.

At one of the strongest of these positions, indeed, they made an effort to stand; but the gallantry of Commandant General Longa completely checked them; for he led the attack at the head of his troops, animating them by his example, and having charged with a few cavalry and a small body of infantry, the enemy were obliged to abandon this position, and to fly for safety to the town of Durango.

In these affairs the enemy's loss was very considerable, and many prisoners and horses were taken by the Spaniards. The enemy's force was upwards of six thousand veteran troops, commanded by skilful French generals, particularly Rouget and Duvernette; and the advantages resulting from the victory were not confined to the clearing this district of the enemy, but produced the best effects by the confidence with which it inspired the new raised Spanish troops.

During the whole of these operations, a constant correspondence and active coöperation was kept up by a British squadron

under the command of Sir Home Popham, who proceeded from point to point, conveying arms to the Spaniards, and transporting their troops wherever their presence was thought most efficacious.

Having thus taken a view of the Spanish exertions in other parts of the Peninsula, it is proper to return to the operations of the Marquis of Wellington, who having found that the army under Marmont, so lately defeated, continued their retreat upon Burgos, in a state not likely to take the field again for some time, determined to bring Joseph Bonaparte to a general action, or force him to quit Madrid. Accordingly, his lordship moved from Cuella on the 6th of August, arrived at Segovia on the 7th, and at St. Ildefonso on the 8th, where he halted one day, in order to allow the right of the army more time to come up.

No opposition was made to the passage of the troops through the mountains; and Brigadier General D'Urban with the Portuguese cavalry, and first light battalion of the King's German Legion, and Captain Macdonald's troop of horse artillery, had been brought through the Guadarama pass as early as the 9th. The brigadier general then moved forward on the morning of the 11th from the vicinity of Galapagas, and, supported by the heavy cavalry of the King's German Legion from Torrelodonas, drove in the French cavalry, about two thousand in number, and placed himself at Majalahonda, with the Portuguese cavalry and Captain Macdonald's troop, and the cavalry and light infantry of the King's German Legion at Las Royas, about three quarters of a mile distant.

The enemy's cavalry, which had been driven off in the morning, and had moved towards Naval Carnero, returned about five in the afternoon of that day; and Brigadier General D'Urban having formed the Portuguese cavalry in front of Majalahonda, supported by the horse artillery, ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy's leading squadrons, which appeared too far advanced to be supported by the main body. The Portuguese cavalry advanced to the attack, but unfortunately turned about before they reached the enemy; and they fled through the village of



Majalahonda, and back upon the German dragoons, leaving behind them, unprotected and unsupported, those guns of Captain Macdonald's troop, which he had moved forward to coöperate with the cavalry.

By the activity of the officers and soldiers of Captain Macdonald's troop, the guns were, however, moved off; but owing to the unfavourable nature of the ground over which they were moved, the carriage of one was broken, and two others were overturned---and these three guns fell into the enemy's hands.

The Portuguese dragoons, after flying through Majalahonda, were rallied and re-formed upon the heavy dragoons of the King's German Legion, which were formed between that village and Las Royas. The German cavalry then charged the enemy, although under many disadvantages, and stopped their further progress: but this they did only after suffering considerable loss, and having Colonel Jonquieres, who commanded the brigade, taken prisoner.

At this moment the left of the army was about two miles and a half distant, at the Puente de Ratemer, on the Guadarama river, and Colonel Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and a brigade of infantry of the 7th division having moved forward to the support of the troops in advance, the enemy retired upon Majalahonda as soon as they observed those troops, and night having come on, they retired upon Alcorcon, leaving the captured guns at Majalahonda, where they were again taken possession of.

In this unpleasant affair of the Portuguese cavalry it was still a satisfaction to the marquis that he was able to report that their officers had behaved remarkably well, and showed a good example to their men, particularly the Visconde de Barbacena, who was taken prisoner. But the conduct of the brave German cavalry was particularly excellent, as well as that of Captain Macdonald's troop of horse artillery. After this partial affair, the whole army moved forward on the morning of the 12th, and its left took possession of the city of Madrid, Joseph Boua-

parte having retired with the army of the centre by the roads of Toledo and Aranjuez, leaving a garrison in the Retiro.\*

The marquis finding himself completely in possession of the city of Madrid, directed the operations for the investment of the Retiro to take place, which were completed in the evening of the 13th; and on that night detachments of the 7th division of infantry under the command of Major General Hope, and of the 3d division of infantry under the command of the honourable Major General Edward Pakenham, drove in the enemy's posts from the Prado and the botanical garden, and the works which they had constructed outside of the park wall; and having broken through the wall in different places they were established in the palace of the Retiro, and close to the exterior of the enemy's works, enclosing the building called La China.

The troops were preparing in the morning to attack these works, preparatory to the arrangements to be adopted for the attack of the interior line and building, when the governor sent out an officer to desire to capitulate, and the marquis granted him the honours of war, with the security of the soldiers' baggage, &c.

On the 14th the garrison marched out on their road to Ciudad Rodrigo; and the works, on being taken possession of, were found to contain a garrison consisting of two colonels, a number of other officers, and a total of rank and file, &c. amounting in the whole to 2,508.

Of all kinds of stores there was found 181 pieces of ordnance, 21,832 round shot, 1,148 shells, 23,000 muskets, near three millions of ball cartridges, with a profusion of other stores belonging to the army of the centre; to which we must add a great quan-

\* The *Retiro* is not a park-like enclosure adjacent to Madrid, but the ancient palace of the Spanish monarchs, and inhabited as such until the last two reigns, when Charles the Second, who completed the new palace at the western side of the metropolis, repaired thither with his court. The palace of "El Bueno Retiro" is seated rather on an eminence at the east side of the city, and is surrounded by extensive grounds and gardens.

tity considered as belonging to the army of Portugal, amounting to eight field guns, a quantity of shot, 700 barrels of powder, 800,000 ball cartridges, with an immense quantity of intrenching tools, &c. &c. &c.

The events which took place in Madrid, previous to, and after this success, are too important to be slightly passed over.

In order to prevent confusion in the delineation of these events, the patriotic narrator adopted a chronological arrangement---and that we shall follow.

On the 10th of August, as soon as accounts arrived of the battle of Salamanca, and of its fortunate issue for the cause of the allies, symptoms of inquietude and perplexity were observed in the whole court of Joseph Napoleon, who were well informed of the event, though they chose to pretend a belief in Marmont having gained a victory.

The alarm and dread which this occasioned in the French and their partisans was the greater, as they had hitherto reposed a blind confidence in their own strength, conceiving their troops to be invincible, notwithstanding the many defeats they had already suffered, both in Portugal and Spain.

This prejudice being thus dissipated, the perturbation and confusion into which they were thrown sufficiently pointed out to the suffering citizens the real state of affairs, which they in vain endeavoured to conceal. The public joy was manifested on all sides. The report of the great event was speedily circulated among the patriots, and the police was in despair, seeing that all their efforts to prevent it were in vain.

The departure, or rather flight, of Joseph, of his court, and partisans, having been determined on in repeated councils of state, it chanced that about six in the evening of the 9th, some soldiers, who had been stationed to observe the heights of Guadarama, gave notice that they saw English battalions descending them.

Consternation immediately spread through the palace---orders and counter orders were given---and at length it was finally determined to leave the city at six in the morning of the 10th.

This anticipation increased the disorder of the fugitives. In the greatest confusion, the immense convoy of the intrusive government was collected. Mourning and lamentation spread through all the houses of the partisans.

Some sold their moveables for half their value, or what they could get; others gave them to be kept by their friends; and others asked that favour from the insurgents themselves, whom but a few days before they had looked on with disdain. They turned into money all they could save of the wreck of their property.

Aribos and Aguelo, the confidential ministers of the intrusive king, having arrived at Madrid on this day, the one with a large escort, and the other only accompanied by three soldiers, they found the public indignation so strong that they were glad to march off in the morning of the 11th, with the remainder of the French troops, except those left in the Retiro.

On the 12th of August the French garrison destined for the defence of the Retiro shut itself up within these works, fearing the indignation and revenge of the populace; and as soon as they left the city, the shops were again opened in full confidence of the speedy approach of the British, though they had all been shut for two days, from a fear of plunder arising from a knowledge which every body had of former proceedings of the French army on a similar occasion, and the people now felt themselves, as it were, able to respire after the oppression and slavery with which they had been hitherto borne down. In fact, as described by the Spanish narrator, the inhabitants, giving themselves up to their joy, manifested, by their language and embraces, all that flame of patriotism which they had been so long obliged to conceal.

In the afternoon of that day the allied army began to enter the city, and from that moment the public joy knew no bounds.

The entrance of the Marquis of Wellington into Madrid was grand in the extreme. They were frantic with joy.

The entrance into Salamanca, Segovia, and Hídefonso, was equal to the triumphal entries of the heroes of antiquity. But

when on the second day Lord Wellington made his entry into the capital, the spectacle was truly grand. His lordship was attended by the flower of the British nobility, and by all the generals of the allied army; whilst the Spanish nobility, the dignitaries of the church, the magistrates, and all the principal inhabitants, came out to meet him accompanied by almost the whole population of the city, to be present at the ceremony of the presentation of the keys.

The air was rent with cries of "*Vive le Duc de Rodrigo grande*"--but the elegant females and those of the first rank were the most particular; they threw under the horses' feet not only bouquets and flowers, but a very great many threw their shawls and veils, which were of the finest texture.

During this and the following days, the acclamations and *vivas*, which hailed the conquerors of Salamanca, never ceased for a minute.\* The doors of all the houses were seen instantly adorned as if by enchantment; and every thing contributed to prove that the inhabitants considered this day as the Aurora of liberty.

On the 13th of August in the evening, as we have already noticed, the investment and blockade of the *Retiro* commenced: and on that day was proclaimed, by order of the Marquis of Wellington, as Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, the constitution formed by the general and extraordinary cortes of the kingdom; Don Carlos Espana, governor of the capital and its province, and Marshal Miguel Alava, presiding at the act.

On this solemn and important occasion, the concourse of people, of applauding crowds, was immense, and appeared to have multiplied the inhabitants of the capital, who, during the reign of the French tyranny, had been reduced to one third of their original number. The ceremony was performed amidst the roar of

\* When the French garrison was marched out of the *Retiro*, though they were privately sent off by a detour, the populace got notice, and were with difficulty kept by the British and Portuguese guards from taking vengeance on such of the officers and men as had committed the greatest depredations on them.

the enemy's cannon, who were then making their last efforts to defend the enclosure of the Retiro.

The narrator then proceeds to state that on the 14th the Retiro surrendered at noon, just at the time when the scaling ladders were preparing for the assault; when the garrison, amounting to 1,900 men, marched out prisoners, leaving behind them near 200 pieces of cannon, 20,000 muskets, and a quantity of other effects.

On this day, in virtue of the royal decree of the regency of the kingdom, the swearing to the constitution of the country took place in all the parishes of the capital.

The Spanish authorities, however, were not content with mere demonstrations of joy; but, under the guidance of the marquis, took a most important step for the speedy return of the misled *juramentados* to their social and military duties, and General Alava republished his proclamation to the Spanish soldiers under Joseph's colours, which had already been issued from the headquarters of the Anglo-Hispano-Portuguese army, on the 29th of the preceding month; in which he says, "The general and extraordinary cortes of the nation, wishing to celebrate the political constitution of the monarchy, have decreed a general pardon to all Spanish military men, of whatever rank they may be, and who are in the service of the tyrant, upon their abandoning it and presenting themselves to the Spanish chiefs with as little delay as possible. Being charged by the supreme government to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, I judge it my duty to make you acquainted with the favourable disposition of our legitimate government, in order that you may take advantage of it, and return into the bosom of your beloved country, and the estimation of your countrymen. The moment is most opportune. The enemy cannot much longer support themselves in the interior of the country, and in retiring from our frontiers your fate is decided; you are going to perish in the war of the north.

"Your country, brothers, friends, are greatly offended by your infamous desertion; and you will give rise to a new war, unless you accept of the offers of this proclamation. Hasten, then, to

present yourselves to the Spanish authorities, or the advanced posts of the allied army; and in this manner you will cause your faults to be forgotten, by showing that your heart was Spanish, although your exterior deportment gave reason for doubting it."

The Spanish general concluded his address by stating that all those who came in should also be paid for their arms, and such other military articles as they should bring with them; and so great was the effect of the proclamation, that even in the course of a few days, a great number of those unfortunate and misguided men made their appearance; and, having taken the oaths of fidelity, joined their brethren in arms.

In fact, it had such an influence as even to produce desertions from Joseph's army to the amount of thousands daily. His whole line of retreat, in short, was covered with deserters; and on the 21st it was known that this intrusive king had changed his route, and was then proceeding by the Arragon road.

At this period the towns of La Mancha were inundated with deserters from his army; and nearly 2,000, it was said, had entered the capital, whilst many of the French partizans, who had not actually taken up arms, returned to their homes extremely disgusted with the treatment which they had met with from the retreating army.

The Marquis of Wellington still remained in the capital until the 22d of August, and on that morning the new council went in a body from the consistorial hall, with the ceremonies of state, under the presidency of the field marshal Don Carlos D'Espana, commandant general, *ad interim*, of New Castile, and of the capital, and proceeded to the royal palace, to compliment him as General Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; and being admitted into his presence, the general addressed his excellency, in the name of the whole council, in the following terms:—

"Most excellent lord—The council of the capital of Spain, which has deserved the public confidence, and which was elected according to the laws of the Spanish monarchy, sanctioned by the general and extraordinary cortes of the nation, comes to offer to your excellency the sincere expression of its respect and gra-

itude. The inhabitants of Madrid justly celebrated in history by their heroic patriotism, and who, in the glorious struggle in which the nation is engaged, were the first people who, without other force than their loyalty, shed their blood to defend the independence of their country and the rights of their legitimate sovereign, manifest to your excellency, by the voice of their magistrates, the satisfaction they feel at seeing in the palace of their kings the illustrious conqueror of Vimiera and Talavera—the deliverer of Portugal—the conqueror of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz—the hero who, in the plains of Salamanca, humbled the pride of our perfidious and cruel enemies, frustrated their designs, and broke the chains which disgraced the capital of the Spanish empire—a memorable victory which history shall transmit to the most remote posterity.

“My lord duke—The representatives of a most loyal and grateful people hope that your excellency, thus worthily placed at the head of Spanish greatness, will be pleased to take this capital under your particular protection; and that the effects of this benefit will be the continuation of that precious liberty which we acknowledge to owe to your excellency, and the restoration to his throne of the monarch who is the object of our persevering love and honour, and destined to reign, according to a wise constitution, over an illustrious people, who will forever be worthy of their liberty from the sacrifices they have made.”

To this the marquis returned the following answer:—

“I am very sensible of the honour which the most noble and loyal council of Madrid has done me in this visit, and am highly gratified with the polite language in which your excellency, speaking in its name, has been pleased to mention the principal occurrences of the war in which I have borne a part. I have particular satisfaction in receiving a body of magistrates elected by the faithful people of Madrid according to the forms provided by the constitution, sanctioned by the general and extraordinary cortes, which, possessing the confidence and influence of the people, carry into execution the laws with impartiality and vigour.

The events of war are in the hands of Providence; but I trust



that these gentlemen and the inhabitants of Madrid will not doubt that I shall continue to make every effort in my power to carry into execution the orders of his royal highness, who exercises the authority in the name of his Britannic majesty, in behalf of the interesting cause of Spain; and I hope that these efforts will not only contribute to preserve the peace and security of the city of Madrid, but also ultimately to establish the independence, prosperity, and happiness of Spain."

The Spaniards were now not inactive in the general cause; and about the 28th of August their patriotic army of the centre, consisting of their 2d and 3d armies, after continually moving about for 19 days, had at last finally taken post at Hellin, in the kingdom of Murcia, for the purpose of observing the movements both of Soult's and Suchet's forces.

At these stationary head-quarters, there daily presented themselves an immense number of French partizans and juramentados; the first wishing to embrace the patriotic cause and enter the Walloon guards, the others being destined for the infantry corps.

Some juramentado officers had likewise deserted at that period; but they, as they had appeared at a time when the country had no occasion for their services, were sent to Majorca as common soldiers.

On the 28th, General Frere, with 1,200 cavalry, had advanced between Allacete and Bonete, and General Bassecourt was in Allora, and to the latter officer a number of deserters were daily presenting themselves from Suchet's army, in consequence of his proximity to Almanza, the first place on the enemy's line.

About this period, General Mina attacked a corps of the enemy, composed of 3,000 infantry and 200 horse, on the high Pamplona road, near Tulos; the enemy's loss on this occasion consisted of from 8 to 900 men, whilst that of the Spaniards was but of trifling consideration.

General Villa Campa, also, near Requina, attacked more than 1,000 of the enemy's infantry, with some artillery and cavalry, commanded by General Baron Mepos, completely destroying

them; the greater part were made prisoners, others were wounded, or killed, and the remainder saved themselves by dispersion, leaving behind them two pieces of artillery, the ammunition wagons, the convoy of stores, &c. and all the baggage: which shall be more fully noticed.

About the 24th of August intelligence was received at Madrid that Valencia had surrendered to the expedition from Majorca, and that Tarragona and Lerida were also in the hands of the allies.

At that period, in the south, General Hill had orders to advance, and his operations were to be conducted in conjunction with the division at Ayamonte, and with the forces under Ballasteros.

Up to this time the greatest harmony prevailed between the allies and native troops; and, consistently with this good understanding, the Spanish guerillas in the neighbourhood of Madrid placed themselves under the command of the marquis; and, amongst the principal chiefs who had concurred in this arrangement, were *Medico* and the *Empecinado*.

Great hopes were also entertained of the general success from the future operations of the troops disembarked on the eastern coast. This expedition left Sicily 7,000 strong, totally British, consisting of a division of the 20th light dragoons, the first battalions of the 10th, 58th, and 81st regiments, the 4th and 6th battalions of the King's German Legion, and the regiments of Dillon and de Rolle.

At Minorca they were joined by about 4,000 Spanish troops, organized and disciplined in that place, thus forming a conjoint force of about 11,000 men, under the command of General Maitland.

On its arrival on the coast of Spain, the troops were landed at Alicante; and being joined by General Roche's division, and the horse of the 2d and 3d army, proceeded from that place in the direction of Valencia, on the 15th of August; and, though the French had determined to fortify themselves in the points of Ibi and Castella, yet no sooner were the troops in motion, than

General Harispe disappeared from these points with the utmost rapidity.

In consequence of all these brilliant achievements, the Spanish government determined to present the marquis with the order of the Toison d'Or, or Golden Fleece, the most ancient and honourable order in Europe next to that of the Garter; and the cortes decreed that a monument should be erected near Salamanca, in commemoration of the victory of the 22d of July. Upon the official details of that glorious event being read to them by the secretary at war, they unanimously, amidst reiterated exclamations from the galleries of—"Long live the nation—Long live our allies," passed a vote of thanks to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the troops under his command, and appointed a deputation to wait upon the honourable Henry Wellesley, his brother, and now the British ambassador there, to congratulate him on so signal a victory. The deputies were the Marquis Villa Franca, and Counts Toreno, Vega, &c. The Marquis Villa Franca addressed the ambassador in these terms—"The general cortes, after hearing with the most extraordinary emotion the relation of the victory obtained by the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo in the fields of Salamanca, have resolved, that in its name, and on that of his majesty, thanks should be given to that general, the officers, and troops under his command; and likewise that we should, without any ceremony, wait upon and compliment your excellency on this happy event, both as the representative of the great British nation, and as the brother of the great hero who has obscured the triumphs of the tyrant."

Mr. Wellesley, in reply, assured them that he was above measure gratified by this proceeding of the cortes, and that he hoped this great success would be followed by still greater advantages, and that the result of the whole would be the so much wished for entire liberation of the Peninsula.

About the early part of August the enemy had in a certain degree reinforced their troops in Estremadura, in consequence of which General Hill removed to Zafra.

No sooner had Soult heard of the battle of Salamanca, than, like a true disciple of Bonaparte, he ordered rejoicings and a grand entertainment in honour of Marmont's brilliant victory; and at the same time put every animal in the country in requisition, and took every possible means of forming depots, and also putting his camp in motion avowedly for the purpose of destroying General Hill's force. His absolute intentions were indeed unknown, but he made a slight movement on the left of that division of the allied army under Hill, who, in his turn, kept a good look out so as to act or move as circumstances might require.

Immediately afterwards the French advanced in force upon Urnachos, when General Hill, in order to counteract them, marched his troops so as to occupy the positions of Villa Franca and Almandralejo; where, shortly after, the British army received accounts of the victory. The enemy now retired by the road to Usagre, and the British proceeded to Los Santos and Zafra, as already noticed; after which General Hill sent a flag of truce to General Drouet, with information of Marmont's defeat, and accompanied by twelve French prisoners, who could assure him of this great and important event.

At this period the French, in the southern parts of Andalusia, found themselves very unpleasantly circumstanced; and instead of acting offensively against General Ballasteros, found themselves obliged, on the 25th of August, to evacuate all their lines of positions from Guadalate, Ronda, and the points of Gahera and Teba, blowing up their fortifications, spiking their cannon, and destroying their ammunition.

General Ballasteros immediately pursued them, and on the following day his troops occupied the Ronda, and Villa Martin; and so completely was the face of affairs now altered, that instead of being kept in check, he prepared, in the event of the enemy having left any force still to blockade Cadiz, either to march upon them, or, if they had evacuated their lines, to pursue them in their retreat. He was not in time, however, for either plan; for, fearing for his own safety, Soult gave direc-

tions for the siege of Cadiz to be raised; and on the 24th and morning of the 25th of August, the besiegers abandoned all their positions and works opposite to Cadiz and the Isla, except the town of Port St. Mary's, where a body of troops remained until the middle of the day, and then withdrew to the Cartuga.

They left a very numerous artillery in the several works, and a large quantity of stores and powder; and although most of the ordnance was rendered unserviceable and useless, yet, from other causes, they appeared to have retired with more precipitation from their position than could have been expected. Indeed, so apprehensive were they of being harassed, that a considerable body of cavalry was brought down previous to the commencement of the retreat.

The towns of Puerto Real and Chiclana were immediately occupied by detachments of Spanish troops, and a party of the 2d Hanoverian hussars, together with some light troops, under the command of Colonel Lambert.

At the same time Major General Cooke, commander of the British forces in Cadiz, received information that Colonel Skerrett and the Spanish troops under General Cruz had arrived at Manzanilla on the 22d, and remained there in order to arrest the attention of Marshal Soult.

The raising of the siege, as may easily be conceived, produced the most lively satisfaction amongst the inhabitants of Cadiz.

In describing the details of this event, it was stated that at dawn of day on the 25th commenced the *public* destruction of the enemy's works, redoubts, batteries, powder magazines, &c. The obscurity of the preceding night was not sufficient to screen his coerced determination, as the people of Cadiz could easily hear the explosions of different magazines before the light of day enabled them to behold the precipitate retreat of these ferocious invaders. The formidable work at La Cabazuela ceased to exist at one in the morning, and at ten the Cadiz garrison took possession of that point, whilst numerous boats from the town crowded over to that shore so long in possession of the enemy.

The advance of the troops of the garrison to the front of the line, most opportunely added to the embarrassments of the retreating army, and not only precipitated his retreat, but gave them an opportunity of destroying those trains which were just laid for the destruction of the remaining magazines. The greater part of the battering cannon along the line were left untouched, or badly spiked. In fact, the enemy had not time even to burn their launches, although many of them were sunk; and a great quantity of sabres and other arms were found in the salt pits; the sutling booths and infirmaries were left on fire. "Such was the confused precipitation of Soult!"

By noon of the 25th the Spaniards occupied the works which were erected in Puerto Real and at the Trocadero; in the castle of Santa Catalina, no mounted cannon remained; the carriages were burned, and the adjoining magazines and salt works destroyed. Don Marcus Gruceta proceeded to establish provisional governments on the evacuated quarters, and Don Francisco Maurell took possession of the towns in the vicinity.

A strong column of French cavalry and infantry retired to Xeres; but on the morning of the 26th proceeded on their march to Seville. The night before Soult left Port St. Mary's, he levied a contribution of 12,000 dollars on that town, and imprisoned some of the inhabitants because they refused to pay their proportion; most of them were, however, liberated on the following morning, on its appearing that they had not the means of advancing a dollar.

It was observed by a spectator that the destruction of the various works was fine in the extreme, and uncommonly grand, the whole of Cadiz being, as it were, almost surrounded with immense fires, affording a full prospect of the batteries as they blew up one after another. Fort Catalina, in particular, afforded a very fine sight; but as the enemy had mined the whole of the magazines, though only a part of them blew up, the general commanding was obliged to issue an order that no person should go near them; yet, in spite of the danger, it was almost impossible to restrain the public curiosity. The inhabitants of Cadiz,

under these happy circumstances, seemed, as it were, to have renewed their existence; and the women, in particular, were in ecstasy at the idea of again beholding their relatives and friends at Port St. Mary's and other places, and whom they had been prevented from visiting ever since the French had first taken possession of Andalusia.

On the very day of the evacuation, an extraordinary sitting of the cortes took place, when the minister at war, by order of the regency, presented an account of all that occurred in the enemy's line, when a general thanksgiving was ordered throughout Spain; and on the same day, the Duke del Infantado, then at the head of the regency, published the following energetic address:

“Citizens of Cadiz—The regency of the kingdom, which beholds you in these moments penetrated with the most exalted joy at the withdrawing of the enemy's troops, which with so much audacity presented themselves in the front of your city walls, insulting and ridiculing your constancy and patriotism, is equally convinced that you are aware of the importance of preventing their reoccupation of those positions which they have first been obliged to abandon.

“You have suffered without murmuring, and with a resignation worthy of that reward which Providence has this day extended to you, in decreeing the end of a siege, which, however, could not tire out the constancy or devotion of the besieged. In order to secure at once your future tranquillity, and place you beyond the reach of any accident which may arise from the uncertain fortune of war, the government has determined to proceed to the execution of the works projected in the Trocadero, and which will be sufficient to secure the people of Cadiz against the repetition of such hostile operations in future. With similar impressions, continue, citizens of Cadiz, faithful to make, if necessary, similar sacrifices for the general advantage of your country. The government will have to make known to you such necessities, should they exist, and it regards your conduct; and, finally, the regency felicitates you on the most fortunate event of

this day; so fortunate for yourselves, for all commercial men, and for the nation in general."

The siege of Cadiz was at all times an important circumstance in the affairs of the Peninsula; but, as its various details would have interfered with the continuity of the former narrative, and could only have been presented in a disjointed state, we avoided entering into particulars, trusting that we should be enabled, by its final issue, to avail ourselves of an opportunity of noticing it in a more connected manner. We shall, therefore, here briefly state some of the leading occurrences.

The lines of circumvallation, on which the French army had been so many years employed, reached from Conil, by Torre-Bermesa, Chiclana, Puerto Real, and Puerto de Santa Maria, to Rota, an extent in the whole of about eight leagues.

During the thirty-one months of blockade, which commenced on the 5th of February, 1810, the enemy never ceased labouring, with the greatest activity, on the construction of an immense number of redoubts and batteries, which at least contained about 500 pieces of cannon of the largest calibre. They had also formed in their lines parks of artillery, magazines, and foundries, calculated to support and increase the vigour of the enterprise, certainly one of the most extensive in its outline recorded in the history of modern wars; though still inferior to the immense works of the British army at Torres Vedras; and to these prodigious means of attack the enemy had added a flotilla consisting of about thirty gun-boats.

As the impregnable defences of the Isla de Leon left not the most distant hope of successfully attacking Cadiz on that point, the French early directed their attention and their labours to that quarter of the bay where the small isthmus called the Trocadero is situated. It appears that their plan was to multiply their lines of fire upon that point in such a way as to silence that of the castle of Puntales and of the adjacent batteries; in consequence of success, in which case they expected it would be practicable to effect a landing, which might enable them to form a lodgement between the grand battery of St. Ferdinand and the land port



gate, from whence, with mortars only, they would be enabled to reduce the city of Cadiz to ashes. This plan, though a bold one, and of very difficult execution, because they could not flatter themselves with becoming masters of the sea, was generally acknowledged, even by their most experienced engineers, to be the only one that held out the prospect of a successful result. In consequence, on the whole coast of the Trocadero, including Fort Louis, the enemy had mounted about 200 pieces of artillery, many of them mortars of the largest and most augmented calibre, which kept up a tremendous, though ineffectual, fire upon Puntales and the adjacent batteries, which was always returned with redoubled vigour.

The enemy, even from the first, despairing of the effect of all these fires upon Cadiz, next applied themselves to the discovery of projectiles that might effectually damage the city. All the science of the corps of French artillery, and of a Spanish traitor called Domingo Vengoa, formerly a colonel of artillery, was put in requisition, whose range might reach to the city of Cadiz.

On the 15th of December, 1810, they made their first experiment with a piece of from eight to nine feet in length, in the shape of a cannon, but with the chamber and the capacity of a nine inch howitzer. The grenades thrown by this were partly filled with lead, and could not burst. Their range was about 6,000 yards, or three geographical miles, and they fell considerably beyond the centre of the city; but without producing any other effect than that of a round shot descending from the same elevation.

The enemy, however, were animated to new attempts by the result of this experiment, and flattered themselves that, by multiplying their trials, they might at length succeed in throwing a number of projectiles calculated to annoy the population of Cadiz to such a degree as to produce disturbance, and thus hasten and insure the surrender of the place from the effects of discontent and confusion.

Time, indeed, has at length demonstrated that these hopes were

ridiculous; for the enemy having constructed the two batteries of Cabazuelo and Angulo in the most advanced part of the Trocadero towards Cadiz, placed in them fourteen pieces of the new construction; and from the 24th of June, 1812, they began throwing projectiles daily, which mostly fell within the city, but without producing greater effect than in the first experiments.

It appears that the enemy did not increase the number of their firings, from a well founded fear that their pieces would burst from the shock of an impulse so extraordinary, and also from their immense consumption of gunpowder, every charge, it is said, requiring thirty-six pounds.

Notwithstanding this, we have seen that the government, with the officers of the various public departments, although so far within range of the French fire, and exposed to continual danger and inconvenience, never abandoned their posts; indeed, it must be acknowledged that they had no other place of refuge, unless they had gone to Majorca or Minorca, where their means of communication with their allies would have been much curtailed.

After this sort of bombardment for two months, which caused very little damage, and to which the population became at last habituated, they had the satisfaction of witnessing what the Spanish authority, to which we have been much indebted for the foregoing statement, calls one of the greatest results of the memorable victory of Salamanca, which has immortalized the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo.

“The whole of the 25th of August,” observes this narrator, “the enemy were abandoning their lines, having destroyed some of their batteries, and rendered useless a part of their artillery. On the same day the Spaniards took possession of their lines, where there was found an immense quantity of gun carriages, carts, balls, bombs, gunpowder, baggage, arms, and stores of provisions. Of the 500 pieces of artillery, many were found in a serviceable state, the enemy not having had time to destroy them, from the precipitation with which he retired. All these amount

in value to many millions," (undoubtedly he means not sterling money of Britain, but of the currency of Spain,) "but there has not yet been time to take an inventory of them, and we have been chiefly employed in destroying the works, and in bringing the artillery and stores into Cadiz and the Isle of Leon.

"Such has been the issue of the incessant labours of the enemy against Cadiz---labours which have been often blazoned in the French reports as models of their kind, and, like the works of the Romans, as calculated to excite the admiration of the world."

Two thousand men were immediately set to work upon the projected cut, which is to convert the Trocadero into an island, and to render it, like the other approaches, impregnable. Were the enemy, therefore, under any unfortunate change of circumstances, to approach with any possible amount of force, his fire could not reach Cadiz, nor even its bay.

In this manner, therefore, the most important point of Spain will remain perfectly secure; and it will of course be impossible for the enemy, even if unexpectedly reinforced, to possess in tranquillity the rest of the province of Andalusia.

We now return to the operations of the British army at Madrid, where the Marquis of Wellington received information, on the 18th of August, that Joseph Bonaparte had retired from Ocana two days before, and that his army was in full march towards Valencia.

About the same period the French abandoned Toledo, which was taken possession of by a party of the guerillas of El Medico; and, soon after the capture of the Retiro, the garrison of Guadalaxara, consisting of 700 men, surrendered to the Empecinado by capitulation, on nearly the same terms as those granted by his lordship to the garrison at Madrid.

The marquis now received reports from Major General Clinton, informing him that a part of the remains of the army of Portugal had moved forward from the neighbourhood of Burgos, and that some of their detachments were understood to be in Valla-

dolid on the 14th, in consequence of General Santocildes having withdrawn the troops of the army of Galicia which had occupied that town.

Some of their detachments were likewise on the right of the Pisuerga; but this advance did not take his lordship unawares, for he had expected they would make this movement as soon as he collected his troops together for the purpose of marching upon Madrid.

The intelligence also which he received from the south was to him of great importance; for from thence he learned that Drouet pressed less upon General Hill, having drawn in his right from La Guarena, though still occupying Hornachos; and though at that period General Vallete had returned to the blockade of Cadiz, yet Ballasteros had not only been so successful as to capture three hundred prisoners at Ossuna, but, by the positions of his troops, had been enabled to reopen his communication with the British garrison in Gibraltar; so that his lordship had every prospect of being able to direct the whole of his force against the army of the centre and that of Marmont.

Indeed the Spanish prospects in the south were now improving rapidly in consequence of the exertions of the gallant Colonel Skerrett, the brave defender of Tariffa, and who had been some time before despatched with a considerable British and Spanish force to Ayamonte in order to harass the right wing of the French army under Soult.

On the 24th of August, Colonel Skerrett, and General Cruz Mourgeon in command of the Spanish troops, judged it advisable to make a forward movement on Seville; but before this could be done it was necessary to force the enemy's corps of observation of three hundred and fifty cavalry and two hundred infantry at San Lucar la Mayor.

In order to accomplish this design without hazard, but without any superfluous force, the gallant colonel marched from Manzanilla with eight hundred troops, composed of the 1st regiment of guards, the 87th, and the Portuguese regiment commanded

by Brigadier General Downie, accompanied with six hundred Spanish troops.

On arriving at the environs of San Lucar, not a moment was lost, but the Spanish column attacked on the right, and the British and Portuguese on the left. when the French were driven through the streets with precipitation, leaving some killed, wounded, and prisoners; and the combined troops took post in the place without the loss of a man.

Two days afterwards it was the joint opinion of Colonel Skerrett and the Spanish general, that it would be attended with the most beneficial effects, both on the public opinion, and in saving the city of Seville from being plundered, if the French could be precipitated in their retreat from that place; the allied troops in consequence marched for that purpose, and arrived at the heights of Castillegos de la Cuesta, immediately above Seville, on the morning of the 27th at six o'clock.

The Spanish troops formed the advance, and the French advance was soon driven in; when the cavalry retired leaving the infantry in the plain, who, thus deserted by their friends, were immediately charged by the Spanish cavalry, and a great number made prisoners.

In front there was a redoubt in advance which it was necessary to carry, being on the left of the assailants, and this redoubt the Spaniards attacked, losing a great number of men; but the different allied columns having now advanced into the plain, the redoubt was turned, and its communication with the city cut off, when it surrendered.

The Spanish troops under General Cruz now took the right, and made a detour to arrive at, and attack on the flank of Triana, one of the suburbs of Seville.

Immediately, with great precision, Colonel Skerrett ordered the redoubt to be masked by a detachment of the 20th Portuguese regiment, and at the same time advanced a field piece with some troops to keep in check the enemy's fire at one of the gates opposite to the assailants.

After giving sufficient time for the Spanish column to arrive at its station, the British and Portuguese troops advanced to the attack in front: the cavalry and artillery advancing at a gallop, supported by the grenadiers of the guards, and the infantry following.

The enemy immediately abandoned the gate; and the assailants entered the suburbs, and advanced near to the bridge of Seville with as much rapidity as possible, in hopes of preventing its destruction, which would have rendered the success of the allied troops extremely difficult, if not doubtful. At this movement, the advance were checked by the heavy fire of grape shot and musketry at the turning of the street; but the grenadiers of the guards, immediately advancing to their support, drove every thing before them.

At this critical moment the Spanish column, which had attacked in the quarter of Triana, most fortunately arrived, when the whole body advanced to the bridge under a very heavy fire. Captain Cadoux, of the 95th, with great judgment made a flank movement on the allied left; Captain Roberts with great rapidity brought up two guns; a heavy fire of artillery and musketry was thus soon brought to bear on the enemy, who were driven from their position on the other side of the river, and from the bridge, which they had only in part destroyed.

The grenadiers of the guards, and some Spanish troops, led the columns that crossed the bridge. A general rout ensued, and the enemy were driven through the streets, which were strewed with their dead, and pursued at all points, leaving behind them valuable captures of horses, baggage, and money.

Colonel Skerrett, in his despatches after this brilliant achievement, declared that it was impossible for him to express the joy of the people of Seville at the British victory. Even under the fire of the French, they brought planks to lay across the broken bridge; and their acclamations and vociferous marks of joy, added to the immense crowd, rendered it very difficult for the officers to march through the streets with their columns.

The vast extent of the city, the exhausted state of the troops

who had advanced in double quick time for three miles, and the want of cavalry, rendered it impossible to continue the pursuit beyond the town---and indeed such was the rapidity of the attack, that this victory over an entire French division, and the passage of a bridge which the enemy had materially destroyed, with his infantry and artillery formed on the banks of the river, was achieved with a loss so small as scarcely to be credible.

In fact the gallant narrator had only to regret the loss of one officer, Lieutenant Brett of the royal artillery, who was killed gallantly fighting his gun at the bridge : before which, however, his intrepidity had been observed by the whole detachment.

The only officer wounded was Lieutenant Llewelyn of the 95th rifle corps ; and these, with one sergeant, one rank and file, and two horses killed, together with twelve rank and file and one horse wounded, formed the whole of the British loss.

Yet it was justly said that in this affair, though not a sanguinary one, the conduct of every officer and soldier was above all praise ; whilst during the whole of the attack our allies, the Spaniards, rivalled the conduct of the British and Portuguese troops ; and the modest yet gallant colonel most liberally observed, that General Cruz Mourgeon, by his military talents and bravery, principally contributed to the successful result of the day.

In this affair the loss of the enemy must have been very great ; several officers were taken, and nearly two hundred prisoners in all.

Many guns and military stores were taken : and two of the field pieces, which the enemy advanced, fell into the hands of the allies.

On that very night also, a division of seven or eight thousand French troops passed by : but they ventured not any movement against Seville ; and, as Colonel Skerrett observed, the allied attack and occupation had thus most opportunely saved the city from the devastation and contributions which it must otherwise have undergone.

About the 25th of August information was conveyed to the

marquis, that Joseph Bonaparte had continued his march towards Valencia, his rear guard on the 19th having been as far forward as La Roda; and at the same time he was put in possession of a communication with the Sicilian expedition, having received despatches from Lieutenant General Maitland, who had advanced from Alicant as far as Monforte. At this period, on the eastern coast of Spain, General Roche had taken post at Alcoy, from whence Suchet had retired to St. Felipe; and it was generally believed that he intended to cross the river Xucar: and in conjunction with General Roche's movements, General O'Donnel on the 17th was at Yecla in Murcia.

At this period the conduct of Soult seemed quite undetermined; but it was known that he had sent convoys towards Cordova, whilst in the road from Seville towards Grenada he had ordered the different flying corps or garrisons to be collected.

General Duran, it appeared, had entered Logrono, where he had destroyed the fortifications, the house of inquisition, and the fort called Balbuina: but the French General Darque, with 2,500 infantry and 200 horse, having advanced as if with an intention of attack, Duran placed himself within half a league of the place, in a kind of ambuscade, with 1,400 infantry and about 100 horse, where he waited their advance; when the French were forced to retire with a very severe loss.

In the north, the remains of the army of Portugal, joined by the forces which had been in the Asturias, attempted to make some hostile movements, and on the 18th had detached some troops from Valladolid, which drove in Major General Anson's piquets at Tudela; but that officer was still in sufficient force to maintain his posts on the left of the Douro.

Foiled in their attempt to push him further, and fearful for their own detachments, the enemy next moved a body of troops from the vicinity of Valladolid, consisting of about six thousand infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry, under General Foy, who felt himself strong enough to venture as far as Toro, from whence he drew off the garrison. In fact, it appears that Foy's principal object in his movement was to collect these scattered garrisons of



Tora and Zamora; in addition to which he had hoped to cut off the Portuguese militia employed in the blockade of the latter place; but being disappointed in this expectation by the good conduct of the Portuguese general, he marched from the vicinity of Benevente, but not until he had been joined by a body of infantry equal to his own in number, which had likewise marched from the Pisnerga, on the Rio Seco; and on the 20th of August, the whole were about two leagues distant from Benevente, a movement which they were enabled to make unmolested, in consequence of the Gallician troops having all marched towards Astorga, with the exception of the Spanish cavalry which still remained in Benevente, and saved that place from the intended French visit.

Being forced to leave the garrison of Zamora still blockaded by the Portuguese army under the Condé D'Amarante, they, however, ventured to proceed towards Astorga in hopes of relieving that garrison.

The enterprising spirit of the guerillas, at this point of time, cannot be better delineated than by a dashing exploit of Espos y Mina, who states in a letter to General Mendizabel, that the French General Abbé, having on the 29th of August marched from Pampeluna with 3,000 infantry and 200 horse to collect wood, he resolved to fight him, which he actually carried into execution; and, notwithstanding their proximity to Pampeluna, obliged them to abandon the wood they had collected, and the wagons in which it was to have been conveyed. In fact he pursued them until within cannon shot of that town, where he formed in order of battle for two hours, without the enemy daring to molest him.

His lordship's movements towards the north were much relieved by intelligence from the southern parts of Spain; for though his despatches from Cadiz had informed him of the return to that place of the detachment under General Cruz which had been sent to the eastward for the relief of General Ballasteros; yet they also conveyed him information of another expedition having been immediately fitted out, and of the troops being land

ed at Huelva as far back as the 15th, when they had, in fact, met with no opposition, the retiring enemy having evacuated and destroyed the castle of Niebla on the 12th of the month.

In the north, General Foy proceeded on his route to Astorga, which place had actually surrendered some days before to a small Spanish force of only twelve hundred men, although Foy had then advanced as far as Baneza for their relief. The victorious Spaniards, however, were too few to encounter such a force, amounting to as many thousands as they had hundreds; they accordingly evacuated that place immediately, but not without carrying away the whole French garrison as prisoners.

The marquis now thought it improper to leave such a force unbroken; and, accordingly, having ordered, in the latter end of August, that a sufficient number of the allied troops should be collected at Arevalo, he quitted Madrid on the 1st of September, in order to direct their movements.

At this period the garrison of Madrid consisted of the 5th, 43d, 45th, 52d, 74th, 83d, 88th, Scotch brigade, Ross, some Portuguese, and likewise some Spanish troops; all under the command of that excellent officer, Baron Alten: and the general recruiting for the Spanish corps of Don Carlos and Don Julian went on briskly, these leaders being expected to take at least 12,000 men from the capital alone; besides which, a militia was raised in the city, to consist of horse and foot to a considerable amount.

At this period also a very important event took place, the general and extraordinary cortes having made a treaty of friendship, union, and alliance, between that country and Russia, under British mediation; and in which it is stipulated that the two high contracting parties, in consequence of the proposed friendship, shall come to an understanding without delay, and agree on every thing which may have connexion with their respective interests, and with the firm intention to prosecute a vigorous war against the Emperor of the French, their common enemy, and engaging from that date to concur sincerely in every thing which may be advantageous to the one or the other party. By this state docu-

ment, also, the Russian emperor engaged to acknowledge the cortes as a legitimate authority, and to guaranty the constitution which they had framed and sanctioned; to which it was added, that all commercial relations should be forthwith re-established.

If there was any thing to counterbalance the tide of success at this period in favour of the Spaniards, it was a notification from the consul Amatlar at Carthagená, to the British governor of Gibraltar, that about the middle of August he had received information from the board of health that there were some suspicious cases of fever in their hospitals, but that the local government had taken precautions to guard against the spreading of this horrible infection, which but a few years before had nearly depopulated that ill-fated district.

On the 4th the marquis marched from Arevalo, and passed the Douro on the 6th, at the fords of Herrera and El Abrojo; previous to which, General Foy having heard of the surrender of Astorga, returned to the Esla, and marched upon Carvajales, with a view to surprise and cut off the Portuguese militia already stated to have been employed under Lieutenant General the Condé d'Amarante in blockading Zamora. This general, however, made good his retreat, without loss, to the frontiers of Portugal; and General Foy could do nothing more than carry off the French garrison, which he did on the 29th of August, thinking their position unsafe, and then marched for Tordesillas. The good management of the Portuguese general, and the steadiness of his troops on this occasion, drew forth great, and, indeed, well-merited praise, from the Marquis of Wellington, who observed in his public despatches that he could not avoid drawing the attention of the British government to the conduct of the Condé d'Amarante, and of the *militia* under his command, in these operations, and also pointing out the zeal of this militia, principally drawn from the provinces of Tralos Montes, in thus voluntarily serving beyond the frontiers of the kingdom, a service which extended beyond the limits of their agreement.

The whole remains of the army of Portugal, being now col-

lected between Valladolid and Tordesillas, the marquis found their advanced guard on the sixth of September strongly posted on the heights of La Cisterniga; and at the same time he had information that there was a considerable body of troops in and about the former place.

As it was late in the day before the allied troops had crossed the Douro, the marquis thought it imprudent to move forward before the morning of the 7th; but the enemy did not choose to await his approach, retiring from La Cisterniga during the night, and abandoning Valladolid in the morning as soon as they saw the British advance, blowing up the bridge on crossing the Pisuerga in order to arrest the pursuit. They were closely followed, however, by the honourable Lieutenant Colonel Ponsonby, with a detachment of the 12th light dragoons through the town; but some time having elapsed before the infantry could come up, the retiring troops could not be prevented from destroying the bridges, by which means their loss was less than might have been expected.

In fact, so great was the terror of the French, that we understood that they only fired five guns before they hastily fled towards Burgos; but it appears that some of our troops reached them, especially the cavalry, and caused them a great loss, the enemy abandoning their provisions, ammunition, baggage wagons, &c.

This triumphant entry into Valladolid, although it had been only a few days under the French yoke, now caused the most inconceivable joy; and it has further been mentioned, that the Marquis of Wellington, with the most judicious attention to the wants of the poor Spaniards, had all the wagons brought into Valladolid, laden with the plunder of that town and neighbourhood; and permitted the poor injured people, in the most unexpected manner, to recover their lost property. Such considerate conduct must always operate favourably in support of the British character.

After this they retired along the right bank of the Pisuerga, and in the evening had got as far as Duenas. Though the Gallician

army had retired from Astorga, as already mentioned, on the approach of General Foy; yet no sooner had he commenced his retreat on the Douro, than they again advanced to the Esla; indeed the Spanish corps seem now to have gained fresh courage on all sides, for it also appears that the French garrison of Cuenca, which had evacuated that place on hearing of the surrender of the Retiro, being in fact part of Suchet's army, had immediately afterwards been taken prisoners by General Villa Campa, to the amount of 1,000 men, with 2 guns, &c.

At this period, also, the marquis received intelligence from Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill, that he had advanced as far as Llerena in pursuit of the troops under General Drouet.

The Marquis of Wellington did not, however, give up the pursuit, but continued to follow the enemy with the whole of his troops until the 16th of September, when he was joined at Pampliega by three divisions of infantry, and a small body of cavalry, of the army of Galicia; his excellency the Captain General, Castanos, having arrived at head-quarters on the 14th.

On the 16th the retreating enemy had taken a strong position on the heights behind Celada del Carmino, when his lordship made arrangements for attacking them on the morning of the following day; but they thought proper to retire during the night, and were driven to the heights close to Burgos, through which town they retired during the night of the 17th, leaving behind them some clothing and other stores, and a large quantity of wheat and barley.

After this they retired to Briviesca, where they were joined by about 7,000 conscripts from France, and, as the marquis was informed, were there to wait the arrival of Massena, who, as was reported, was ordered by the local government of France to proceed for the command of the army.

It was necessary to pass the river of Arlanzon in the vicinity of Burgos; but the castle of that town commands the passages of the river, and the roads communicating with them, so completely, that the British army could not cross it before the 19th, when that operation was effected in two columns,

the 5th division and Brigadier General Bradford's brigade above the town, whilst the 1st division, with Brigadier's General Pack's brigade, and Major General Auson's cavalry, passed below it.

The city of Burgos, now, as it may be called, the last refuge of the French, in that part of Spain, is situated in that division of the country allotted to the army of the north; and General Caffarelli, who had been there on the 17th, had placed in the castle a garrison of the troops of that army, consisting, as was reported, of 2,500 men.

The enemy had taken considerable pains not only to fortify this castle of Burgos, but had also occupied with a horn work the hill of St. Michael's, which has a considerable command over some of the works of the castle, at the distance of three hundred yards.

They had likewise occupied other parts of that hill with *filèches*, and other works, for the protection of their piquets and outposts.

As soon as the first division of the allied army crossed the river Arlanzon, on the 19th of September, the enemy's outposts were driven in by the light infantry battalion of Colonel Sterling's brigade, under the command of the honourable Major Cocks, supported by Brigadier General Pack's brigade; and the enemy's outworks on the hill of St. Michael's, with the exception of the horn work, were occupied by the allied troops, which were posted close to the horn work.

As soon as it was dark, the same troops, with the addition of the 42d regiment, attacked and carried by assault the horn work which the enemy had occupied in strength. In this operation, Brigadier General Pack, Lieutenant Colonel Hill of the 1st Portuguese regiment, Colonel Campbell of the 16th, Major Williams of the 4th *caçadores*, Major Dick of the 42d regiment, and the honourable Major Cocks, of the 75th regiment, commanding the light infantry battalion, distinguished themselves most gallantly.

The latter, in particular, who led the attack of the enemy's post in the morning, also entered the horn work by its gorge at

night. In this affair the allies captured three pieces of cannon, and one captain, with sixty-two others, prisoners; but at the same time, owing to the strength of the work, their loss was very severe, consisting of Major Pierpoint, assistant quartermaster general, and Lieutenants Gregorson and Milne, of the 42d regiment, killed, with four captains and six lieutenants wounded, some of whom died afterwards; the Portuguese loss, of officers, one lieutenant, and one ensign killed, besides several wounded.

The whole number of killed were, British 47, Portuguese 24; wounded, British 242, Portuguese 93; making a grand total of 71 killed, 335 wounded, with 16 missing.

However great this loss, yet the attempt in which it took place was absolutely necessary; for it was impossible to ascertain the exact state of the works of the castle of Burgos, until possession was obtained of the hill of St. Michael's.

On the two days immediately following the attack, the allied troops were actively employed in establishing themselves on the hill of St. Michael's, and in constructing such works as were best calculated to forward their future operations. At that period the whole of the army had crossed the Arlanzon, with the exception of the 6th division, and one division of the Spanish infantry; and the siege of the castle of Burgos was commenced in form.\*

\* To understand these operations better, it may be proper to state that Burgos, which had long continued to enjoy splendour and pre-eminence, as the capital of Old Castile, the cradle of the Spanish monarchy, has, for the last two centuries, declined from its prosperity, and is now a gloomy, irregular town, containing only about 8 or 9,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded by walls, and built on a declivity forming the right bank of the river Arlanzon, over which are thrown three stone bridges connecting the town with the pleasant suburb of La Beza.

On the brow of the adjacent hill stands an ancient castle, which has been repaired and strengthened with works by the French; and beyond this is another small hill called St. Michael's, wherein a horn work had been erected, which we have detailed as taken by storm. The castle itself is a lofty square building of solid masonry, and commands the hill of St. Michael's, which in its turn overlooks the outer defences of the former. Adjoining to the castle is a church, which the French have converted into a fort, and both these are included within the distinct lines of circumvallation, the whole forming a for-

About this time also the marquis received intelligence from Sir Rowland Hill of his being at Truxillo on the 14th, and that he was then about putting into execution his orders to be at Oropesa, four days afterwards; also, with respect to the French army in the south, that Marshal Soult had not left Granada as far down as the 8th, at which time General Ballasteros had followed the enemy's movements from the Guadalete, and had been very successful, having advanced as far as Loxa on the 6th, the enemy having then abandoned Andujar and Jaen; whilst the armies of Joseph Bonaparte, and of Suchet, were still in Valencia.

Though the city of Burgos itself was in possession of the allied forces, yet the head-quarters were at Villa Toro, in its vicinity; and the operations were still carried on against the castle. On the night of the 22d, the Marquis of Wellington directed an attempt to be made to take by storm the exterior line of the enemy's works, one of the batteries destined to protect the allied position, when in them, having been in such a state of preparation as to give hopes that it would be ready to open on the morning of the 23d.

The attack was to have been made by detachments of Portuguese troops belonging to the 6th division, which occupied the town of Burgos, and invested the castle on the southwest side, on the enemy's left, whilst a detachment of the 1st division, under Major Lawrie of the 79th regiment, should scale the wall in front.

Unfortunately, the Portuguese troops were so strongly opposed, that they could not make any progress on the enemy's flank, and the escalade could not take place. In consequence of this the British loss was severe; Major Lawrie was killed, and Captain

dress of an oblong figure. All these three lines must be successively carried before the castle can be taken. The commander of the fortress is a general who has long acted under Caffarelli; and its importance may be judged of from the fact that whilst it is occupied by the French, their army may remain in perfect safety at Briviesca, a walled city only six leagues distant, and separated from the plain of Burgos by a lofty mountain; at the next stage beyond which, on the road towards France, is the tremendous pass of Pancorbo, which secures the approach to the Ebro.



Fraser, who commanded a detachment from the brigade of guards, was wounded. Both these officers, and indeed all those employed on this occasion, exerted themselves to the utmost; but the attack on the enemy's flank having failed, the success of the escalade was impracticable.

On the 27th the allied batteries were completed, and ready to open on the enemy's interior lines, as soon as the besieging troops could be established within the exterior works; and the enemy's army of observation at the same period was about Pancorbo, and Miranda, on the Ebro, with their advanced posts at Briviesca; but they had hitherto made no movements to impede the operations of the assailants.

In the south, Marshal Soult now found himself obliged to evacuate Granada on the 15th of September, and to march towards the kingdom of Valencia in order to form a junction with the armies of Suchet and of the intrusive king; and General Ballasteros immediately afterwards entered that ancient and interesting city.

This general, on the 3d of September, near Antiquera, defeated the enemy's corps, consisting of 8,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 6 pieces of cannon, commanded by Generals Villat and Semelet, who covered Soult's rear; he dislodged this force completely from its position, pursued it more than a league and a half, and obliged it to leave behind some prisoners, and two of their pieces of artillery; after which he took possession of Antiquera, which they could no longer defend.

Two days afterwards a part of his advanced guard surprised in Loxa a part of Soult's troops, and made more than 200 prisoners.

About the same period, also, General Elio, in command of the troops lately under the direction of General O'Donnell, took Consuegra by capitulation.

On the failure of the proposed assault on the exterior lines of Burgos, it was found necessary to proceed by sap; and accordingly several mines were prepared, one of which being exploded

at midnight of the 29th, a breach was effected in the outer wall, which some of the party, destined to attack it, were enabled to storm; but, owing to the darkness of the night, the detachment who were to support the advanced party missed their way, and the advance were driven off the breach before they could be effectually supported.

The breach, as effected by this mine, was not of a description to be stormed, except at the moment of the explosion, and it was necessary to improve it by fire, before the attempt could be repeated. But all endeavours on the part of the assailants, to construct batteries in the best situation to fire upon the wall, failed in consequence of the great superiority of the enemy's fire from the nature of their situation.

In the mean time another mine had been placed under the wall, which was ready on the morning of the 4th of October, and a fire was opened the same morning from a battery constructed under cover of the horn work.

The cannonade from this battery improved the breach first made; and the explosion of the second mine, at five o'clock of the same evening, effected a second breach; on which both were immediately stormed by the 2d battalion of the 24th regiment, under the command of Captain Hedderwick, which had been ordered into the trenches for that purpose; and the allied troops were established within the exterior line of the works of the castle of Burgos.

The conduct of the 24th regiment was highly praiseworthy; and Captain Hedderwick, and Lieutenants Holmes and Fraser, who led the two storming parties, particularly distinguished themselves; and it is pleasing to reflect that this operation was effected without suffering any very severe loss.

Up to this period of the siege, the enemy's army still continued in observation upon the Ebro, and did not make any attempt to disturb the operations, though they had extended their left as far as Logrono, but with what intention did not appear.

In thus bringing down the biography of our gallant countryman to the siege of Burgos, after contemplating the important consequences of the battle of Salamanca, the occupation of Madrid, &c. we have closed at a memorable era of his life.

Waiving all further observations, therefore, on these recent events, we shall take a slight view of the more prominent parts of the character of the noble subject of our biography, as illustrative of, and deducible from, the preceding pages.

Of the gallant Wellington it has been well observed, that it is impossible fully to estimate the vast talents, the unwearied exertions, and the great resources of this unrivalled soldier, whose variety of genius is only equalled by his deep and excellent judgment.

We have seen a recent anecdote, which states that at one period of the late battle of Salamanca, a column of the British was exceedingly pressed by the overbearing and superior strength of a part of the enemy's line opposed to it; it gave way, and another column was advancing to support it, when Lord Wellington came up at the moment, and ordered the advancing column to disperse by files, to hasten round the hill immediately in their rear, and to form behind it. The general of brigade was astonished at the precipitate retreat of his advancing column, and called a rally, when his men said, "there is Lord Wellington, Sir; we are obeying him."

The French, supposing a general rout had taken place, pursued the retiring column, and became disordered as they quickly advanced. Lord Wellington then told the general of brigade he would find his column formed on the other side of the hill, and so he did; when the enemy, as they rounded the slope, were met by the supposed fugitives, who advanced in their turn, and made a terrible slaughter.

Previous to the late distinguished events, which have certainly raised his character as high as his most sanguine friends could have wished, it was well observed of him, that in all his former actions there were two or three principal characteristic traits; an indefatigable activity, a sagacity which sees and determines in the

moment, and a promptitude which instantaneously acts; an indifference to the mere circumstance of numerical equality, and an incomparable readiness in disencumbering himself of whatever is superfluous; and an equal readiness in determining what is superfluous, and the exact point of time when it becomes so. Combined with these traits, it is worthy of notice that Lord Wellington is stated, by those who have the best opportunities of knowing it, to enjoy an admirable self-possession and command of animal spirits and temper under any state of circumstances, never losing himself in the moment of victory, coolly weighing the passing events where he finds himself checked, and thus proving that he would not lose himself even in defeat!

In contemplating the character of a great man, it is natural to compare him with others who have excelled in like circumstances; and thus it has been said, that, like the Duke of Marlborough, he possesses a degree of civil talent, which, of itself, would have raised him into consideration, and which, when united to his military ability, renders the latter doubly effectual. In consequence of this, so well known to ministers at home, the marquis has long possessed fuller powers than it is generally considered expedient to grant to any military or naval commander. So many specimens, indeed, has he given of his diplomatic skill, that government feel satisfied they may safely repose in his hands, not only the various points of national honour, but even the minuter and more formal decorums of national intercourse, whilst his long practice and accurate observation having placed him on a footing with any diplomatist of his time in the knowledge of all necessary forms, and rendered him as expert in the letter as in the spirit of diplomatic negotiation.

That Lord Wellington sees every thing himself, and that he may be said to live with his soldiers, is another important trait in his character. He never orders his army to move without seeing that the troops are well provided with one or two days' sustenance; he always puts them in motion at an early hour, in order that they may arrive at their ground for the night in good time; and he never halts them without taking care that every

comfort and facility possible may be afforded to the troops for the preparation of their repast.

To their comfort in cantonments he is equally attentive, and also to the hospitals. Latterly, we understand, the medical department of his army has been ably filled, and faithfully attended to, in all its departments; but we have heard that, in an early part of the war, his lordship's regulations were deemed so oppressive by the then medical people, that, in a body, they sent in their resignations. To this he is said merely to have answered—"Gentlemen, I accept your resignations, and shall immediately write home for a fresh medical staff: but, mark me! until *they* come out, *you* shall remain here, and *you shall perform your duty.*"

Secret to an extreme in his plans, yet Lord Wellington has that frankness of communication at his table, that he has been accused of not preserving the proper concealment of his own intentions: this is too absurd, however, even to require refutation. But on service he is so precise in his manners, so formal, as we understand, even to his own brother-in-law, that implicit obedience is the certain result. Indeed, he trusts so much to his own powers, that he asks the opinion of no man. Even his staff are always ignorant of his intentions. At head-quarters all is conjecture; *he* thinks, acts, and succeeds; and so well is he understood and seconded, that scarcely is his plan formed, before it is executed. So guarded, in fact, is his secrecy, that, we understand, he once humorously said, "If I thought the hair of my head knew my plans I would wear a wig."

To undertake all this, much activity of body as well as of mind is absolutely necessary; nor do we think it beneath the dignity of history to record, that at present his lordship is much thinner from the fatigue he undergoes, but is nevertheless in excellent health; and, we are told, that even to support this he lives but moderately, drinking only a few glasses of wine after dinner, conversing with great frankness, and seemingly unconscious of his own greatness. In no instance whatever does he claim to himself any superior comforts, but simply sleeps on a

leatheren mattress, two feet wide, when he can procure shelter : at others lying on the bare ground, surrounded by his gallant officers and faithful soldiery.

With habits of this kind, we may naturally suppose that, to him, wealth is an object but of minor consideration. In fact, his brother, Mr. Wellesley Pole, distinctly stated some time ago, in the house of commons, that his whole property did not exceed 40,000*l.* ; of which 5,000*l.* was given to him by the East India Company, for his active services as a commissioner for settling the affairs of the Mysore ; 5,000*l.* the amount of his Seringapatam prize money ; and 25,000*l.* the reward of the Mahratta war. In short, as we understand from the statement of a friend of his lordship's, so far from deriving any profit from his command and appointments, it is a fact perfectly well known, that all the emoluments of these situations were carried by him to the credit of government, and actually paid by him into the company's treasury. Neither for this voluntary sacrifice, nor for his services in India, has he received any reward from the East India Company, excepting the 5,000*l.* already mentioned. In reality, therefore, Lord Wellington, considering his rank and family, is a very poor man. Of his personal fortune one half is settled on his wife ; he has in addition a regiment, and a pension of two thousand a year ; in Ireland, or in Portugal, he has never made one farthing ; and in Spain, notwithstanding the smallness of his fortune, he, in 1809, actually declined the pay of a captain general, although it would have amounted to 3,000*l.* a year, and was frequently pressed upon him by the Spanish government.

To inherit his titles, and to share his fortune, he has already two sons ; the eldest, *Charles*, born the 3d of February, 1807, and another born the 16th of January, 1808 ; but it is to be hoped, that this modern Marlborough, this military Nelson, will yet be long preserved to his grateful country, to his admiring friends, and to his faithful consort ; and that a noble and a numerous race will hand down his gallant name to latest posterity !

Before we close, it may be proper to say a word of the Spanish character, which may now be fairly considered as beginning to expand itself.

The enthusiasm of the Spaniards in favour of our gallant countrymen may be drawn from the fact, that upon a recent occasion, when Lord Wellington paid a visit to Ciudad Rodrigo, he was received about a mile from the town, by a piquet of children, from eight to nine years of age, who were armed with small muskets and side arms; and, on entering upon the bridge, he was received in a similar manner, with the addition of an infant band of music; with which his lordship was so much delighted, that he dismounted, and marched at the head of his juvenile band of honour into the town, amid the acclamations of the populace.

On arriving at the principal square, a Spanish lady presented his lordship with a nosegay, beautifully embroidered and surrounded by a border, on which were these words:—"To the ever victorious and immortal Wellington, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo: this is offered by a Spanish lady, grateful for the taking of the two bulwarks of Castile and Estremadura."

As every anecdote of one so revered and honoured, particularly when characteristic of men and of the times, must be interesting, we cannot pass over a recent delineation of the circumstances attending the entrance into Madrid; fully conceiving, as already has been observed, that they will be perused with interest, notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since their occurrence.

"From the neighbourhood of the palace of Escorial I reached the avenues of this magnificent city, on the 12th, at a little before twelve o'clock at noon. For the last league I was received by the people with loud acclamations; and on reaching the arch leading to the end of the city, in which the royal palace is situated, I found a lane formed by two Spanish regiments of horse, and a brigade of our heavy cavalry.

"Lord Wellington soon arrived, and I followed close upon his staff, which was not numerous; and thus, at a few paces

from him, witnessed his reception. He was dressed in a plain blue great coat, with his general's hat bound with white ostrich feathers. He looked remarkably well; but from the plainness of his dress, and the smallness of his retinue, he was not immediately recognised. Still the party was English; and from the crowd in the streets we passed, as well as from the balconies and windows of well dressed people, the loud *vivas* and acclamations caused a sensation of pleasure only equalled by their own feelings upon the occasion. But when, by myself and others in the suite, it was explained that the Spaniards now beheld the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, the sensation was indescribable;--handkerchiefs waving from above--hats thrown in the air--every one pressing forward to mark well the general in chief, amidst a noise that drowned those exclamations of satisfaction and delight that every mouth uttered;--men, women, and children, embracing us with marks almost of adoration, welcomed us to their city with expressions of the most heart-felt satisfaction.

“ The earl with delight turned to the animated groupes, and, repeatedly taking off his hat, seemed to thank them for that enthusiastic display of their patriotism. This all passed in a city most strikingly beautiful; the houses of which, mostly white, are well and regularly built, and on this occasion were ornamented, even to the upper stories, with silk and muslin draperies of the gayest colours, and of the richest and most costly materials, suspended from the windows; the balconies being festooned with the same materials in the most fanciful manner, occasionally displaying rich tapestry, and the whole filled with the animated figures of the delighted inhabitants, in whose countenances joy manifested itself in a thousand forms. Nor must I omit that the elegant costume of the Spanish women, as well as their beauty, added to the effect of the whole.

“ Lord Wellington entered the town-house, or rather that of the municipality, and I proceeded through the city to a coffee-house, to procure refreshment. I passed the greater part of the day in my observations as to the reality of the satisfaction so conspicuous in the appearance of the people, and I feel confident



that it is general and unfeigned. The city was illuminated last night, and will be so for the two ensuing. The concourse of people in the streets on this occasion is immense, and the scene is brilliant and lively beyond description. We are received wherever we go with acclamations, and invitations are pressed upon us from all quarters; in short, we seem to be admitted into the bosom of this people."

We shall now close with a recent statement of the whole hostile and allied force in the Peninsula, which has been lately published, and which, we believe, may be considered as very correct.

The existing condition of the concerns of Spain, occasioned by the valour of the allied armies, and the unparalleled skill and activity of their commander, certainly promises the fairest issue to the contest there. Success itself is a most operative cause in the production of success; and when affairs have once proceeded in a certain train for some time, they will have acquired an inclination to continue in that course—a degree of velocity beyond that imparted to them by the hand of their director—which it is difficult to stop. Yet, must we not believe, even with all these favouring circumstances, that we are beyond the reach or possibility of sustaining a check in the Peninsula—that we have so beaten down opposition that it can never again lift the head against us. In truth, such are the comparative numbers of the contending armies in Spain, that if we had never yet met the enemy, and had never given them a proof of our mettle, they might reasonably enough, looking only to their own forces, have supposed themselves able to drive us from the field; and we verily believe, that Lord Wellington and his army are the only general and troops in Europe, against whom Soult would not march with the utmost confidence of success, instead of circuitously skulking, "like a guilty thief," through the kingdoms of Granada, Murcia, and Valencia.

From the Peninsula a variety of papers have been received, which enable us to throw some light upon the actual state of the allied and of the enemy's forces in that quarter.

## 1. THE BRITISH.

Rank and file effective.

British, under Lord Wellington and Gen. Hill,	40,000
under General Maitland,       -       -	6,000
Garrisons of Cadiz and Carthagea,   -	6,000
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Total effective British,       -       -	52,000
Portuguse total effectives,       -       -	24,000
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Total disposable British and Portuguese,   -	76,000

## 2. SPANISH ARMIES.

The 1st army is stationed in Catalonia, under the general command of General Lacy. This army amounts to 17,000 men; of which number 6,000 are in the garrisons of Montserrat, Vich, Manresa, Cardona, and at some other parts of less importance. The disposable army, amounting to 11,000 men, is thus distributed:—

Under Lacy's immediate command,	-	3,000
Eroles,       -       -       -       -	-	3,000
Sarfseld,     -       -       -       -	-	3,000
Rovira, the conqueror of Figueras,   -	2,000	
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		11,000

The 2d army is that of Valencia; the 3d army is the army of Murcia. Both of these were under the command of O'Donnel, who was lately defeated by General Harispe, at Castella. They are now under the orders of Elio, the late Viceroy at Monte Video, including Roche's division. These two armies amount to 18,000 men; of which number 11,000 are disposable and effective.

The 4th army is that of Andalusia, and is commanded by Ballasteros. It amounts to 23,000 men, of which Ballasteros has 9,000; there are 14,000 men at the Isla de Leon, at Tariffa, and at Seville.

The 5th army is in Estremadura, and is commanded by Mon-

salud, an old Spanish officer, and captain general of the province. Under him are Murillo, the Condé de Penne Villemur, and Downe; and the total force, including the garrison of Badajoz, where the head-quarters are, and where General Monsalud is stationed, is 7,000 men.

The 6th army is that of Galicia, and amounts to 12,000 effectives. This includes the force under Porlier and Santocildes, and is under the general direction of General Castanos. There is also the corps under the command of Don Carlos D'Espana, which cannot certainly exceed 4,000 men.

The 7th army is that of Asturias, and is commanded by Mendizabel, having under him Renovales. This force does not, it is believed, exceed 3,000 effectives.

ABSTRACT, INCLUDING GARRISONS.

1st army, -	17,000	Catalonia - - -	Lacy, commander,
2d and 3d, -	18,000	Murcia and Valencia,	Elio,
4th army, -	23,000	Andalusia, - - -	Ballasteros,
5th army, -	7,000	Estremadura, - -	Monsalud,
6th army, -	12,000	Galicia, - - -	Castanos,
7th army, -	3,000	Asturias, - - -	Mendizabel,
Corps under } Espana, }	4,000	Madrid.	

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Total 84,000

To this let us add the guerilla parties.

Mina, - - -	3,000	in Navarre.
Duran, - - -	2,500	Arragon.
Montijo, (a grandee,) -	2,500	Valencia.
Villacampa, - -	3,000	Arragon.
The Empecinado, -	1,000	Guadalaxara.
Martinez, - - -	1,500	La Mancha.
Bassecourt, - -	2,000	Cuenca.
Don Julian Sanchez, -	1,500	

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	Total	17,000	} 22,000
The detached parties,		5,000	

Brought over,	-	-	22,000
Add regular troops,	-	-	84,000
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Total Spanish regulars and irregulars,			106,000
Add the British and Portuguese,	-		76,000
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Total allied armies,	-	-	182,000

The composition of this large force is understood not to be equal to its amount; and the British and Portuguese are alone, perhaps, to be yet depended upon in action with the French. At the same time, many of the Spanish corps, both regular and irregular, have displayed great bravery against the French, and must every day improve.

### 3. THE FRENCH.

	Effective.
1st. The army of Soult,	- - - 45,000
2d. The army of Suchet, amounts to	26,000

Suchet has under his command the provinces of Valencia, Upper and Lower Arragon, and New Arragon; which latter province contains that part of the province of Catalonia to the westward of Balaguer, Cervera, and Villa Franca; and includes the cities of Tarragona and Tortosa, which is Suchet's principal depot, and is strongly fortified. The remainder of the province of Catalonia is annexed to France, and is under the orders of General Decaen, who lately was governor general of the Mauritius.

Suchet's corps is thus divided:

In Valencia,	- - - - - 9,000
Upper Arragon,	- - - - - 6,000
Lower Arragon,	- - - - - 5,000
New Arragon,	- - - - - 6,000

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Total 26,000

Of this force 10,000 men are stationed in the different garrisons of Tarragona, Tortosa, and Mequinenza, in New Arragon: those of Saragossa, Huesca, Balastro, Benavane, Monson, Benaschi,

Jaca, and the Cinco Villas, in Upper Arragon, (the garrison of Valencia, 400 men only,) and the garrisons of Calatayud, Daroca, Alcaniz, Caspe, Morella, and Teruel, in Lower Arragon. The French in the towns of Saragossa, and of Valencia, have demolished the works of the towns, and confine themselves to the citadels, which they have strengthened by ditches and other works; and which they are thus enabled to maintain with a small force. The disposable force under Suchet is therefore 16,000 men.

3d. The army of Catalonia, under General Decaen, amounts to 20,000 men; of which 13,000 are in the garrisons of Figueras, Bascara, Olot, Rosas, Gerona, Labisbal, Palamos, Hostalrich, and Barcelona. But from these garrisons Decaen can, and does, when necessary, withdraw 4,000 men, so that his disposable force may be 11,000 men.

4th. The army in Navarre, which is a separate command, amounts to 9,000 men, of which 3,000 are in the garrison of Pampeluna, and other posts.

5th. The army of the north, under Caffarelli, amounts to 9,000 men; of which 7,000 are effectives.

6th. The remains of Marmont's army amount to 30,000, of which 25,000 are disposable, and the remainder form the garrisons of Burgos, Pancorbo, Vittoria, and other posts.

7th. The army under Joseph, lately called that of the "Centre," is certainly 10,000 men, and is commanded by Marshal Jourdan.

#### ABSTRACT.

Soult, - - -	{ South of Spain, at Grenada at present, }	45,000
Suchet, - - -	Valencia, - - - - -	26,000
Decaen, - - -	Catalonia, - - - - -	20,000
Navarre, - - -	Pampeluna, - - - - -	9,000
Caffarelli, - -	Army of the north, - -	9,000
		<hr/> 109,000

		Brought over,	- - - -	109,000
Marmont,	- -	Burgos,	- - - -	30,000
Joseph,	- -	Valencia,	- - - -	10,000

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Total 149,000

Of which there are in garrisons 32,000

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Total 117,000

So that the French disposable force may certainly be estimated at 100,000 men: this, however, under the present circumstances of Europe, it is to be hoped is not so preponderant a force as to paralyze the allied exertions; so that we may rationally look for further opportunities of recording future victories, and of hailing an established era in the INDEPENDENCE OF THE PENINSULA!

## SECTION XI.

Remarks of the American biographer—Sequel of the attack upon the castle of Burgos—French army under Marshal Soult forces the allies to raise the siege and retreat—Soult follows and attacks the allies, but is repulsed—Frequent attacks in the course of Lord Wellington's retreat, with various success—Sir Rowland Hill abandons Madrid—Sir E. Paget taken by the French—Great skill of Lord Wellington in conducting his retreat before the superior army of Marshal Soult—Atrocities of the allied army in their conduct to the Spanish inhabitants—Lord Wellington's reprimand to the army for their shameful want of discipline, and their enormous licentiousness—Lord Wellington's reception at Cadiz—He is appointed to the command of the Spanish armies—Commencement of the campaign of 1815—The French retire before Lord Wellington. Various successes of the allies—Battle of Vittoria—General Murray obliged to raise the siege of Tarragona—General Clausel retreats into France—Sir Rowland Hill forms the siege of Pamplona—San Sebastian blockaded—Sir Thomas Graham intrusted with the siege—Sanguinary assault upon San Sebastian, in which the allies are repulsed with great slaughter—Efforts of the French emperor to oppose Lord Wellington—Marshal Soult again takes the command against the allied Spanish, Portuguese and English armies—Situation of the armies—Soult attacks the allies—Critical situation of Lord Wellington—French defeated—English oppositionists.

IN continuing the military life of the Marquis of Wellington from the period at which his English biographer breaks off, I shall be guided principally by the official despatches of his lordship and the generals under his command.

It falls to my lot to begin my narrative at a period when victory, for the first time, appeared to have deserted the standard of the hero. But a great general is never greater than in the hour of ill success. The talents of the Marquis of Wellington have been found equal to every trial.

The reader has seen that the English had established themselves, after severe and sanguinary conflicts, within the exterior

lines of the castle of Burgos. On the 11th of October the defendants made two sorties, materially injured the English works, killing and wounding many of their troops. On the 18th the assailants having completed a mine under the church of St. Roman, which stood in an outwork of the second line, the marquis determined that the breach which had been previously made in the second line should be stormed that evening at the moment of exploding the mine under the church; and that the line should be attacked by escalade at the same time.

The mine succeeded, and a party of the 9th caçadores and Spaniards of the regiment of Asturias were lodged in the outwork. A detachment of the German Legion, under Colonel Wurmb, carried the breach, and a detachment of English escaladed the line; but the French attacked the assailants so furiously, that before they could be supported, they were driven back, with the loss of many men and Colonel Wurmb killed.

As the English remained in possession of the ruins of the church of St. Roman, they commenced another mine under the second line. In the mean time the French army had been reinforced both from Portugal and France, and the marquis had intimation that they would endeavour to raise the siege. The English outposts were repeatedly attacked, and on the 18th a piquet was surprised in the village of St. Olalla, and the French gaining possession of the heights which command the town of Monasterio, the English outpost was obliged to retire. This movement on the part of the French indicating a serious intention of raising the siege, the marquis, after leaving the necessary troops for carrying on the attacks upon the castle, assembled his troops, and placed them on the heights, having their right at Ibeas, on the Arlanzon, the centre at Rio Vena and Magaradas, and the left at Solo Palacio. The French army were assembled in the neighbourhood of Monasterio, and on the evening of the 20th moved forward about 10,000 men to drive in the outposts of the allies at Quintana Palla and Olmos. The post of Quintana Palla was abandoned by order of the marquis, but at Olmos the attack of the French was repulsed. At this moment the marquis saw an



opportunity of striking his enemy, and ordered Sir E. Paget to move with the 1st and 5th divisions upon the right flank of the French. This blow took effect, the French were driven back upon Monasterio, and the outposts replaced in Quintana Palla.

On the night of the 20th Lord Wellington raised the siege of Burgos, and moved the whole army back towards the Douro. To this measure his lordship was induced, not only by the pressure of an enemy much superior in numbers upon his army, but by the situation of Sir Rowland Hill, who was obliged to abandon his position on the Tagus, and with whom it became necessary to form a junction.

The French commander seems not to have been aware of Lord Wellington's intention of retreating, or even of the retreat after it had commenced, for he did not follow till late on the 22d. On the 23d, the army of the allies crossed the Pisnerga, the right at Torquemada, the left at Cordevilla. The French army followed and pressed upon the rear, gaining some advantages over the English rear guard. On the 24th the marquis continued his retreat unmolested, and placed his army on the Carrion. On the 25th his antagonist again attacked him, but was repulsed. So rapid was the advance of the pursuers, that their adversaries could not destroy the bridges of the Carrion, and the French passed at Placentia. This obliged the marquis to change his front, that he might maintain his position. The bridge of Villa Muriel was destroyed by the allies, but the French discovered a ford by which another portion of their army passed; they were, however, attacked by the allies and driven back, though not without loss to the retreating army. On the 26th the marquis broke up from his position on the Carrion, and marched upon Cabezon del Campo; his adversary immediately followed and formed his army on the heights near Cijales on the 27th, opposite to the position of the allies on the left of the Pisnerga. On this day the marquis had an opportunity of seeing the whole army of the French, as they took up their position opposite to him, and witnessed their great superiority in numbers.

On the 28th Marshal Soult extended his right, and endea-

voured to force the bridges of Simancas and Valladolid. The first was defended by Colonel Halkett with his brigade, and the last by Lord Dalhousie, with the remainder of the 7th division. Colonel Halkett could not withstand the attack of the French, and blew up the bridge, and the marquis immediately broke up from the Pisuega, and on the 29th crossed the Douro by the bridges of Puente Douro and Tudela.

The French had pushed a detachment for Tordesillas on the 28th, and their opponents having destroyed the bridges at that place, were ordered by the marquis to take post on its ruins to prevent the French from repairing it. On the night of the 29th the marquis, on arriving at the post, found that his troops had been driven from the bridge, and that the French had nearly repaired it, he lost no time in immediately marching his army to the heights between Dueda and Tordesillas, immediately opposite the French position, and near the bridge of Tordesillas. This position the marquis held until the 6th of November.

In the mean time the allied army under Sir Rowland Hill had abandoned Madrid, after destroying La China, in the Retiro, and all the guns, stores, &c. and the French re-entered the capital on the first of November. On the 4th of November the army of General Hill arrived on the Adaja.

On the 6th of November the marquis finding that the French had repaired the bridge at Toro, ordered Sir Rowland Hill to continue his march by Fontiveros upon Alba de Tormes, and broke up from the position in front of Tordesillas. On the 9th the French attacked Sir Rowland Hill at Alba, but made no impression, and drew off at night. Lord Wellington continued his march by St. Christoval and through Salamanca. The French on the 15th took a position which forced his lordship to move upon Ciudad Rodrigo, and, passing the enemy's flank, he continued his retreat with some interruption from the enemy, and on the 19th passed the Agueda. On the 17th Sir E.

Paget, while reconnoitring, fell into the hands of the pursuing army.\*

Joseph Bonaparte left Madrid on the 4th, and the garrison he had left in that city evacuated it on the 7th, when a Spanish force took possession.

General Ballasteros having been ordered by the Spanish government, at the suggestion of Lord Wellington, to march into La Mancha, and hang upon the enemy's flank, disobeyed the order, assigning as his reason, the cortes having offered the chief command to the marquis; refusing to obey any orders issued by a foreigner as commander in chief of the Spanish armies. In consequence, the regency ordered him under arrest, General Castanos was appointed his successor, and Ballasteros was sent as a prisoner to Ceuta.

During this perilous retreat from the castle of Burgos, in the face of an enemy superior in force, and skilful to seize every opportunity of inflicting destructive blows upon his foiled and retiring adversary, the Marquis of Wellington appears greater than when pursuing his beaten foes, and triumphantly driving them for refuge to their own borders. No advantage of any consequence could be gained by one of the first generals of the age, with a superior and veteran army, over an army inferior in numbers, disheartened by a reverse of fortune, and abandoned to a licentious want of discipline, so unexampled as to call forth the most severe exposure and reproof, which ever a commander in chief inflicted upon the companions of his fortunes.

In a letter which the marquis addressed to the commanding officers and battalions of the British army, after he had safely placed them in their cantonments for the winter, he states that the army under his command had fallen off in discipline to a greater degree than any army in which he had ever served, or

\* The French official papers state the prisoners and deserters of the allied army which entered Salamanca from the 16th to the 21st of November, as 95 officers and 3,497 men. Among these officers was Lieutenant General Paget.

of which he had ever read. That both in the retreat from Burgos and from Madrid, the officers lost command over their men—irregularities and outrages of all descriptions were committed with impunity, upon the individuals of that nation whose battles they pretended to fight, and whose defence from aggression was the ostensible object of their warfare.

The Marquis of Wellington having placed his army in cantonments at Freynada, proceeded to Cadiz, where he landed on the 24th of December. On the 27th the congress of the cortes sent a deputation to congratulate him on his arrival; and on the 29th the marquis, accompanied by a deputation of the Spanish general staff, and dressed in the full uniform of a Spanish captain general, with the military order of San Fernando, attended a meeting of the congress. Complimentary speeches passed between him and the president, and he retired amidst repeated acclamations. The objects of Lord Wellington's journey to Cadiz was, to arrange the business of the ensuing campaign, to arouse the Spanish government to the necessary exertions for its success, and to induce it to give him that power over the Spanish troops which he deemed necessary for the success of the allied forces. He succeeded in his exertions to obtain these important ends, but not without opposition, and great jealousies were manifested in respect to his receiving the supreme command. The regency and congress, however, invested him with the powers and title of generallissimo of the Spanish land forces. A portion of the Spanish general staff was appointed to attend the marquis, to whom all communications from the different armies were to be addressed, and through whom his lordship's orders were to be conveyed.

The hostile armies remained inactive in their respective positions; the allies near Freynada, and the French between Lisbon and the Ebro, until the 20th of February, 1813, when the French General Foy made some attempts upon the post of Bejar, occupied by General Hill; their success was, however, trifling, having surprised some Spanish hussars.

The French army of Spain had now been weakened by the

loss of the veteran troops, withdrawn to assist their army of the north, whose place would be poorly supplied by miserable conscripts unused to military life. Marshal Soult had likewise been called to the assistance of the emperor, and Suchet placed in the command opposed to Lord Wellington. The state of French affairs after the disasters of the Russian campaign, indicated merely defensive measures in the Peninsula; and accordingly we find that the first movement of their army was retrograde, they retiring behind the Ebro. On the 3d of March General Murray attacked their outposts, and on the 6th drove them from the town of Alcoy, which the allies occupied.

Marshal Suchet now quitted Valencia, concentrating his army, and General Murray fixed his head-quarters at Castella. The Spaniards attacked the French post at Puente del Abayda with some success.

On the 11th of April Marshal Suchet attacked a Spanish corps under General Elio, at Yecla, which threatened his right while it supported the British left. The Spaniards were dislodged with loss. In the evening the French advanced to Velena, and on the morning of the 12th captured two Spanish regiments. On the 13th the French attacked the heights on which the English were posted, but after a sanguinary conflict were repulsed, but were not followed.

In the month of May the plan of the campaign, as formed by Lord Wellington, began to be developed. As early as the 7th a brigade of the Spanish army, commanded by General Copans, gained an advantage over the French, taking prisoners 294, and on the 17th another more general action took place, in which Copans succeeded in repulsing his adversary with considerable loss. In the mean-time the allied army, under the Marquis Wellington, divided into three parts, moved forward to the repossession of Spain. The centre, under the immediate direction of his lordship, pushed on to Salamanca, once more gaining possession of that celebrated city. So sudden was the entrance of the English, that 300 of the French rear guard were captured. The right, under General Hill, moved in a parallel direction with

the utmost panic; the cavalry were flying in every direction, the infantry throwing away their arms, and the only effort of either was to escape. The troops under General Howard's command, as well as those he had sent round the point of the mountain, pursued them over the rocks, making prisoners at every step, until his own men became so exhausted, and few in number, that it was necessary for him to halt and secure the prisoners.

The force which Girard had with him at the commencement of the business, consisting of 2,500 infantry and 600 cavalry, were now totally dispersed or captured; amongst the latter of whom were General Brune, the Prince d'Aremberg, two lieutenant colonels, an aid de-camp, thirty captains and subalterns, and upwards of 1,000 soldiers, with the whole of their baggage, artillery, commissariat, and even the contributions which they had recently levied. The enemy's loss in killed was also very severe, whilst, from the circumstances of the case, it was very trifling on the side of the British. Girard escaped himself with two or three hundred men, but without arms, and even these were much harassed in their retreat by the Spanish peasantry.

## SECTION IX.

Spanish affairs—Surrender of Blake—Repulse of Montbrun—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo—Assault and surrender of that fortress—Lord Wellington created an earl—Siege of Badajoz—Military details—Assault of the citadel, and surrender of the place—Anecdotes—Gallant conduct of the British cavalry at Villa Garcia—Marshal Soult kept in check in Andalusia—Exemplary conduct of the Portuguese militia—Sir Rowland Hill's expedition to Almaraz—Gallant assault of that place, and its destruction—March to Salamanca—Retreat and manœuvres of the French army—Salamanca taken by the British—Siege and capture of the French fortified posts in that city—movements of Marmont's army—Gallant affair of the British cavalry with the rear guard of the enemy—Movements before the battle of Salamanca—Incidents connected with that affair—**BATTLE OF SALAMANCA**—Anecdotes of the action—Defeat and pursuit of the French army—Fall of General Le Marchant—Affecting anecdote of an English lady, &c. &c. &c.

THE year 1812 opened with a severe misfortune to the Spanish cause on the eastern coast, where Valencia not only capitulated, but Blake surrendered with his whole army, giving up immense magazines of all kinds of stores to the French, who were indeed less successful at Alicant, where Montbrun was repulsed early in January.

On the 8th of January Lord Wellington commenced his investment of Ciudad Rodrigo, which had been lately considerably strengthened; for since the French had got possession of it they had constructed a palisadoed redoubt on the hill of St. Francisco, and fortified three convents in the suburb, the defences of which were connected with the new work on the hill of St. Francisco, and with the whole line by which the suburb was surrounded. By these means they had increased the difficulty of approaching the place, and it was necessary to obtain possession of the work on the hill of St. Francisco before any progress could be made in the attack.

Accordingly, Major General Crawford, who was in charge of the advanced operations, directed a detachment of the light division, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Colbourn of the 52d, to attack the work shortly after dark, which was executed

cannon, 415 wagons of ammunition, and all the baggage, provision, cattle, and treasure of their discomfited enemies.

The battle commenced by Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the left of the French army rested. For this service General Hill detached one brigade of the Spanish division under General Murillo, the other being employed in keeping the communication between his main body on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The French commander soon perceived the importance of the heights, and reinforced his troops so strongly, as to oblige Sir Rowland Hill to detach, first, the 71st regiment and the light infantry battalion of General Walker's brigade, and, successively, other troops to the same point. The allies not only gained possession, but maintained these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding repeated efforts of the French to retake them. The contest here was very severe, and though the allies obtained their point, their loss was fully proportioned to the importance of the object. Under the cover which the possession of these heights gave him, Sir R. Hill passed the Zadora at La Puebla and the defile formed by the heights and the river. This gave him an opportunity of attacking and carrying the village of Sabijana de Alava in front of the French line.

The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication of the allied columns, which were moving to the attack from their station on the river Bayas, until later than Lord Wellington had calculated on. The 4th and light divisions passed the Zadora, immediately after General Hill had gained possession of the village of Sabijana de Alava, and almost as soon as these had crossed the bridges of Nanclaus and Tres Puentes, the column under the earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendoza, and the 3d division, under Sir T. Picton, crossed the bridge higher up, followed by the 7th division, under Lord Dalhousie; these four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined by Lord Wellington to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Sir Rowland Hill should move



forward from Sabijana de Alava to attack the left. The French commander, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw the judicious disposition which his skilful adversary had made to attack it, and immediately commenced his retreat in excellent order towards Vittoria. The army of the allies continued to advance in unbroken order, notwithstanding the extreme difficulties which the nature of the ground presented.

In the mean time Sir T. Graham, who commanded the left of the army, and who, by order of Lord Wellington, had moved on the 20th to Margina, advanced from thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa.

The force under Sir T. Graham consisted of the 1st and 5th divisions, Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, with Bock's and Anson's cavalry. He had with him, besides, the Spanish division, under Colonel Longa and General Giron, who had been detached to the left, under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been recalled, but were now again marched, by order of the commander in chief, to be in readiness to support Sir T. Graham.

The French had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Maior. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly occupied, as têtes-de-pont to the bridges over the Zadora at these places.

General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa with the Spanish division were directed to turn and gain the heights. They were supported by Anson's brigade of light dragoons and the 5th division of infantry, under the orders of General Oswald, who was desired to take command of all these troops. Colonel Longa, being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Menor. As soon as the allies gained the heights, the village of Gamarra Maior was stormed and carried by General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced to the charge in columns of battalions under a very heavy fire of mus-

ketry and artillery, without firing a shot. The French suffered severely, and retreated with the loss of three pieces of cannon. General Graham then proceeded to the attack of Abechuco. He ordered a strong battery against it, and, under cover of its fire, directed Halkett's brigade to advance to the attack. The village was carried by storm, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge: this attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry.

During the operations at Abechuco, the French made the greatest exertions to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Maior. They repeatedly charged with the utmost gallantry, but were as often repulsed by the troops of the 5th division under General Oswald.

Two divisions of infantry, which the French commander in chief had posted on the heights, to the left of Zadora, prevented the allied troops from crossing the bridges, until the troops which had moved upon the centre of the French army, and on their left, had driven them through Vittoria. The whole of the allied army then coöperated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark.

By the movement of the troops under Sir T. Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco, Lord Wellington intercepted the retreat of his enemy by the high road to France, and forced him to turn towards Pampeluna; but the French were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off; the whole, therefore, of the latter, which had not already been taken by the allies, and all their ammunition and baggage, were taken near Vittoria. They carried off with them one gun and one howitzer.

On the 24th the rear of the French army reached Pampeluna, the allies continuing an incessant pursuit. The advanced guard of the allies took from them, on that day, their only remaining gun; they therefore entered Pampeluna with one howitzer only, as the remains of their park of artillery. The total return of loss, on the part of the allies, was 5,277 "*hors de combat*."

General Clausel, who had under his command a part of the French army of the north, and one division of the army of Portugal, and who was not in the battle of the 21st, approached Vittoria the next day, but hearing of the late discomfiture, and finding there the 6th division of the allied army, he retired upon La Guardia, and afterwards to Tudela de Ebro.

Lord Wellington despatched General Giron with the Gallician army in pursuit of a convoy, which the French commander had sent off for Bayonne before the battle, but the intended prey escaped the pursuers.

The bearer of Lord Wellington's despatches carried with him, as trophies of this splendid victory, the colours of the 4th battalion of the 100th French regiment, and General Jourdan's baton as a Marshal of France. Great was the exultation in Great Britain and Spain. The prince regent created the victor a field marshal, and the cortes, after having heard the despatches read which announced the triumphs of Vittoria, voted a monument in commemoration of the victory, and of their gratitude to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo.

About the time that Lord Wellington gained this splendid victory in the north of Spain, the English General Murray was obliged in the east to raise the siege of Tarragona precipitately, and retreat, with the loss of 30 cannon, before Suchet. The army under General Murray sailed from Alicante on the 31st of May, and on the 4th of June was landed at Cape Salon, near Tarragona, in force 13,000 infantry, and a proportion of cavalry. To secure the flank of his army, General Murray sent a detachment to secure the Col de Balaguer, a mountainous pass close to the sea, through which winds the great road from Tortosa to Tarragona, and which was defended by the fort of San Felipe, garrisoned by about 100 French. As soon as the difficulties of the ground would enable the assailants to batter this fortress from the heights, this garrison was obliged to surrender.

In the mean time Sir John Murray had commenced the siege of Tarragona; but Suchet, his opponent, and the commander of the French in this district, as soon as he ascertained the destina-

tion of the English armament, collected forces, and by the 12th of June approached near enough to Tarragona to give notice, by signals, of his intentions to relieve the place. His dispositions and force were such as to induce the English general to make a precipitate retreat, re-embarking with the loss of his battering train.

On the 21st of June Sir John sailed southward, after blowing up the fort in the Col de Balaguer. Five of the English ships were lost in the mouths of the Ebro. The French marshal followed the armament by forced marches, to prevent a debarkation at Castellon de la Plana.

About the end of June the army, which had failed in the expedition against Tarragona, returned to Alicant; and General Murray having departed to take the command of the English in Sicily, Lord W. Bentinck was left in the chief command. Suchet having returned to Valencia and the Xucar about the same time, learned the news of the disastrous battle of Vittoria, which induced him to retreat towards the Ebro.

Lord Wellington learning that the French force under General Clausel was, as late as the 25th of June, lingering near Logrono, conceived it possible to intercept the return of that general into France; and, with that view, detached several divisions of the allied army towards Tudela and Logrono. The marquis, however, soon learned that the French general had moved upon Tudela, and thence to Saragossa; and, giving up the hope of overtaking him, recalled the pursuing detachments into Navarre.

From Saragossa Clausel turned northward, and although harassed by the Spanish partisan corps, he made good his way into France by the road of Iaca.

Mean while, Pampeluna was completely blockaded by Sir Rowland Hill, who pushed some of his troops as far as the Bidassoa; while Sir Thomas Graham, continuing to advance from Tolosa, drove the French across the lower Bidassoa into their own country.

The forts of Castro and Guetaria were found evacuated, and the garrison of Passages surrendered on the 30th of June to

Colonel Longa, and the fortress of San Sebastian was blockaded forthwith.

In the rear, likewise, the castle of Pancorvo, garrisoned by 700 French, surrendered, on the 1st of July, to the Condé de Abisbal, (O'Donnell,) who, with the Andalusian army of reserve, had followed close after Lord Wellington, and had, on the 29th of June, carried the town and lower fort by assault. He joined the main army immediately afterwards, and was charged with the blockade of Pampeluna.

Although the right and left wings of the great French army had thus been chased from the Spanish territory, the centre, under General Gaza, still tarried in the fertile valley of Bastan, with the seeming determination of remaining in it. To expel him from so advantageous a situation, Lord Wellington detached General Sir Rowland Hill with a competent force, who, by the 7th of July, had succeeded in freeing Spain from her gallic invaders on that side, with the exception of the garrisons of Pampeluna and San Sebastian.

To commence the siege of San Sebastian the greatest exertions were now making by the British field marshal, who intrusted the immediate care of the operations against that fortress to General Sir Thomas Graham. On the 12th of July General Graham broke ground, and on the 17th the convent of San Bartholomé, a strongly-fortified outwork, after being breached, was carried by storm. After this success, the attack upon the main body of the works was carried on so vigorously, that, on the 24th, two wide and practicable breaches were effected in the line of the wall of the left flank, and on the 25th the assault was undertaken.

The first operation of the assault was blowing up a mine which the assailants had formed, by means of the pipe for the conveyance of water from the fountain of the town. This explosion demolished the *place d'arms*, which entered the covered way. General Rey, the French commandant, was perfectly prepared for the attack. Soon after daylight, when the tide had fallen so as to leave the foot of the wall dry, the English columns moved forward to the assault, but they moved forward to cer-

tain destruction. The French received them with such a steady and incessant discharge of grape, musketry, and hand grenades, that all who entered the breaches were killed or wounded. General Graham, seeing the ineffectual loss of brave men, ordered the retreat, and the assault ceased. The loss of the assailants, as stated in the London Gazette, was 1,250. The French took possession of 584 of the wounded, besides making 237 others prisoners.

Unfortunate as this result proved, the attempt was justified by the importance of gaining possession of the place with a view to ulterior operations, and by the critical situation of affairs in Navarre at the moment.

There could be no doubt, from the character of the Emperor Napoleon, who had made such stupendous efforts to meet Russia and Prussia, but that he would exert himself to meet and stop the progress of the Hibernian hero, who was leading an army of conquerors into the French dominions in an opposite direction. Accordingly, we see that on the 1st of July, ten days after the battle of Vittoria, Marshal Soult, then in Germany, was declared, by an imperial decree, on the Elbe, *Lieutenant de l'Empereur*, and commander in chief of the French armies in Spain and in the south of France, and on the 13th of July he takes that command at Bayonne. In twelve days more the discomfited French army, baggage and caannonless, is new modelled, newly organized, newly equipped, and reinforced by almost half its former amount, is marched back as the assailant, with a most imposing aspect, and under the command of a great and experienced general, who had the last year contended successfully against the great leader of the allies.

Marshal Soult's army consisted of nine divisions of infantry, forming the right, centre and left, under the command of General Reille, Comte d'Erlon, and General Clausel, as lieutenant generals, with a reserve under general Villatte; and two divisions of dragoons and one of light cavalry, the former under General Treillard and Tilly, the latter under the command of General

**Pierre Soult.** There was, besides, allotted to the army, a large proportion of artillery, some of which had already joined.

The allied army, under Field Marshal Lord Wellington, on the 24th of July extended from Roncesvalles on the right, to San Sebastian, being posted in the passes of the mountains. Byng's brigade of British, and Murillo's brigade of Spanish infantry were on the right of the pass of Roncesvalles; Lieutenant General Sir Lowry Cole was posted at Viscaret to support those troops; and Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, with the third division, at Olague, in reserve.

Sir Rowland Hill occupied the valley of Bastan with the remainder of the 2d division, and the Portuguese division under the Condé de Amarante, detaching Campbell's Portuguese brigade to Los Aldecides, within the French territory. Further to the left, the light and 7th divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, and extended to the town of Vera and the Puerto de Echalar, keeping the communication with the valley of Bastan. The 6th division was in reserve at San Estavan. General Longa's division on the Lower Bidassoa kept the communication between the troops at Vera and the besieging corps before San Sebastian. The Condé del Abisbal blockaded Pampeluna.

How far Lord Wellington was apprized of Marshal Soult's intention and power to act on the offensive is not certain, but from the extension of the line of the allies, and its weakness in some essential points, we are led to judge that the English general did not expect to be attacked.

On the 24th Marshal Soult collected the right and left wings of his army, with one division of his centre, and two divisions of cavalry, at St. Jean de Pied de Port, and the next day forced the pass of Roncesvalles. He attacked General Byng's post with about 30,000 men, and although Sir Lowry Cole moved up to his support, the French carried the pass in the afternoon, and General Cole retreated in the night to Zubiri.

In the afternoon of the same day Marshal Soult attacked Sir Rowland Hill at the defile of the Puerto de Maya at the head of

the valley of Bastan, and forced the English to give way; they, however, renewed the contest, but Sir Rowland, learning that General Cole had been obliged to retreat, withdrew his troops to Irurita. The loss of the English was severe in men, and the French took four guns.

Lord Wellington was informed of this critical state of affairs on his right, late in the night of the 25th, and immediately gave orders to concentrate the army to the right, still providing for the siege of San Sebastian and for the blockade of Pampeluna. This disposition of the allied forces was changed by the necessity under which Generals Hill and Cole found themselves of still further retiring, and on the 27th they took a position near Pampeluna, having their right in front of Huarte, their centre on the heights in front of Valalba, and their left resting upon a height which defended the high road from Zubiri and Roncesvalles. Morilla's Spanish infantry and a part of the Condé del Abisbal's corps were in reserve. From the latter the regiments of Travia and El Principe were detached to occupy part of the hill on the right of the 4th division, by which the road from Zubiri was defended. The English cavalry, under Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton, were placed near Huarte on the right, the only ground on which troops of this description could be used.

The river Lanz runs in the valley which was on the left of the allied, and on the right of the French army, along the road to Ostiz. Beyond this river there is another range of mountains connected with Ligasso and Marcalain, by which places it was now necessary for the allies to keep up a communication.

Lord Wellington had scarcely arrived, on the 27th, at his right wing, while the 3d and 4th divisions were taking up their ground, when the French appeared in sight and formed upon a mountain between the high road and Zubiri, placing one division on a height to the left of the road and in some villages fronting the 3d division of the allies.

The French soon commenced the battle by attacking a hill, on the right of the 4th division, occupied by a battalion of Portuguese. Lord Wellington saw the importance of this hill, and re-



inforced the defenders, so as to keep possession and repulse every effort of the assailants. Though the French failed in this attempt, they succeeded in an attack made at the same time upon the village of Sorausen on the road to Ostiz, by which they acquired the communication by that road, and they kept up a fire of musketry until it was dark.

Early on the 28th of July Marshal Soult renewed the contest, but the seasonable arrival of the 6th division of infantry enabled Lord Wellington to occupy the heights on the left of the valley of Lanz, while the newly arrived troops formed across the valley in the rear of the 4th division, resting their right on Oricain and their left upon the heights just mentioned. Scarcely had the 6th division taken their position, when they were attacked by the French from the village of Sorausen; but the positions of the allies were too well chosen to admit of an impression being made on them in this point, and the assailants were repulsed with great loss.

Marshal Soult, finding his troops involved in difficulties in the valley of Lanz, ordered an attack upon the height occupied by the left of the 4th division of the allies, by way of extricating his troops in the valley; this partially succeeded; they gained possession of the height, but were, in turn, attacked and driven back with loss.

The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, with various success, the result was, however, in favour of the allies, who repulsed the assailants at every point.

The ill success of this attack upon Lord Wellington's right seems to have induced Marshal Soult to make a vigorous assault upon the left, where Sir Rowland Hill commanded. Lord Wellington had ordered General Hill to march by Lanz upon Lezasso, as soon as he found that Generals Picton and Cole had been driven from Zubiri. His lordship likewise ordered Lord Dalhousie from San Estavan to the same place, where both arrived on the 28th, and the seventh division came to Marcalain.

That part of Marshal Soult's army which had been in front

of Sir Rowland Hill, followed his march, and arrived at Ortiz on the 29th, and on the 30th the French commander made an attack upon General Hill, with a view of turning the left of the allied armies. The allies were obliged to retire, and Marshal Soult gained the advantage of connecting his right in their position, with the divisions which attacked General Hill.

This new infraction of the line of the allies would, to a general of Soult's abilities, have proved the forerunner of decided victory, had he not been opposed by a captain of at least equal military talents. It was at this critical moment that the genius of the Irish hero broke forth in its brightest lustre. Instead of merely acting on the defensive, by strengthening his left wing, he boldly determined to attack the left of the French, though situated in the most advantageous position, and commanded by Soult in person.

Lieutenant General the Earl of Dalhousie was ordered to possess himself of the top of the mountain in his front, by which the right of the French army would be turned, and Sir Thomas Picton was ordered at the same time to cross the heights on which the left of the French army had stood, and to turn their left by the road to Roncesvalles. Every arrangement was made to attack in front as soon as the effect of these movements on the flank should appear. Lord Dalhousie drove the troops from the mountain by which the right flank of the French was defended, and immediately General Pakenham turned the village of Sorausen, while the 6th division of the allies and Byng's brigade, attacked and carried the village of Ortiz. Lieutenant General Sir Lowry Cole attacked the front of the main position of the French with equal success.

Thus the heights occupied by Marshal Soult, a position among the strongest ever occupied by an army, were literally taken by assault, and the troops driven from their vantage ground at the point of the bayonet. So vigorous was the pursuit, that the column which still pressed upon Sir Rowland Hill was actually in the rear of Lord Wellington. His lordship, in proportion to the success of his attack, had been enabled to detach troops to the

support of General Hill, who had been attacked and forced from the height which he occupied behind the Lezasso to the next range, where he maintained himself, until the French, finding that the battle had gone against them elsewhere, retreated, and took up a strong position, with two divisions, to cover their rear in the pass of Donna Maria.

Generals Hill and Dalhousie attacked and carried the pass notwithstanding its strength and the vigorous resistance of the French.

In the mean time Lord Wellington moved by the pass of Velate upon Irutita, turning the French position on Donna Maria. The pursuit was continued and many prisoners made, with baggage and other trophies of victory taken. On the 1st of August the allies were nearly in the same positions which they occupied on the 25th of July.

These hard and bloody struggles to keep the ground gained by the battle of Vittoria, show us how futile the efforts of England would have been in the Peninsula but for the successes of Russia. The oppositionists in England had looked upon the efforts of the English ministry to expel the French from the Peninsula as the effects of madness. Lord Grenville derided the attempt, and predicted, on one occasion, in the house of lords, that not an English soldier remained at that moment in the Peninsula, except as a prisoner to Napoleon Bonaparte. Oppositionists are always the assailants, and assailants are always furious and proportionably blind; but in this instance, all the probabilities were on the side of the prophet of evil. Another opposition leader, the Marquis of Wellesley, the illustrious brother of the more illustrious Wellington, saw the power of France in the same alarming point of view, but he did not endeavour to paralyze the efforts of his country against that power, he stimulated to greater efforts and more proportionate to the object, and to him, next to the Russian power, the field marshal of England owes it, that he was enabled to encounter not only the French power in Spain, but the general prepossession of the English people against the war in the Peninsula. The abilities of Wellington, rather than the united powers

of Britain and Spain, now defeated the French, and blasted the expectations of Marshal Soult of again chasing his opponent into Portugal.

On the 2d of August the French still continued posted with a force of two divisions on the Puerto de Echalar, and nearly the whole army behind the Puerto. Lord Wellington determined to dislodge them by a combined attack and movement of three divisions. The fourth division of the allies, which preceded the others, alone made the attack, and the French abandoning their position, their whole army retreated, and enabled Lord Wellington to announce, on the 4th of August, "There is now no enemy in the field within this part of the Spanish frontier."

The English accounts stated the French loss in the recent engagements as 15,000, and their own as 9,696, without including the loss sustained by the Spaniards, which is supposed by the English journalists to make the amount of loss at least 10,000.

Lord William Bentinck was, on the 21st of July, at Benaroz, and preparing to cross the Ebro. Marshal Suchet, in retreating before his lordship, had left a garrison of 4,000 men at Tortosa, which was invested by the Duke de Parque.

## SECTION XII.

Recommencement of operations against San Sebastian—French attack the covering army—Are repulsed by the Spaniards—Storming of San Sebastian—The town carried by assault—The castle capitulates—Destruction of San Sebastian, and atrocities committed by the English and Portuguese upon the Spanish inhabitants—Charges published against the English commanders and soldiers—Inquiry and answer to the charges—Publication by the Spanish magistracy—Army of the allies pass the Bidassoa, and drive the French from their entrenched positions—Lord Wellington's orders for respecting the persons and property of the French—Outrages committed by his troops—His lordship's indignant reproaches and repetition of his orders—High estimation in which Lord Wellington stands with the world—Strong position of Marshal Soult at St. Jean de Luz—Surrender of Pampluna—Lord Wellington attacks the French lines, and gains a complete victory—The French having retired to their entrenched camp before Bayonne, the allies, by a series of operations, continue their approaches—Marshal Soult attacks the allies, and is again defeated with great loss.

THE English recommenced their fire against San Sebastian on the 26th of August, on the night of which day a detachment, under Captain Cameron, formed an establishment on the island of Santa Clara, taking prisoners a party of French who held it. On the 30th Lord Wellington ordered the storm, and the town was carried with much loss to the assailants, who made 670 prisoners, and the French retired to the castle.

On the same day that a part of the army of the Marquis of Wellington carried the town by storm, another portion defeated the French army, which attempted, by an attack on their lines, to relieve the place. The French had for some days been drawing their forces to the camp at Urogne, and the marquis prepared to meet the assault which he foresaw. Three divisions of the fourth Spanish army, commanded by Don Manuel Freyre, occupied the heights of San Marcial and the town of Irun, by which the ap-

proach to San Sebastian by the high road was protected; and they were supported by the first division of English infantry, under Major General Howard, and Lord Aylmer's brigade on their left and the rear of Irun; and by General Longa's division, encamped near the Sierra de Aya, in the rear of their right. On the 30th the commander in chief, in order still further to secure the Spanish troops, moved two brigades of the fourth division to the convent of San Antonio; one of these divisions moved the same day to the Sierra de Aya and the other the next morning, leaving the 9th Portuguese brigade on the heights between the convent and Vera and Lezaca. Inglis's brigade of the seventh division was moved to the bridge of Lezaca; and the orders of the marquis were for the troops of the Puertos of Echalar and Maya, to attack the enemy's weakened posts in front of these positions.

Before daylight on the morning of the 31st the French crossed the Bidassoa in force, by the fords between Andara and the site of the bridge of the high road, and attacked the whole front of the position of the Spanish troops on the height of San Marcial. The Spaniards repulsed them, and even drove some of them back across the river. The attack was frequently repeated with the same result. Under cover of the cannon, which commanded a part of the river, the French, having constructed a bridge, passed an additional force over in the afternoon, and made another desperate attack upon the Spaniards. This was beat back with the same determined gallantry, and finding all their efforts ineffectual, the French withdrew during the darkness of the night, under cover of a violent storm. During these attacks the English supporting divisions were not engaged.

Nearly at the same time that the French crossed the Bidassoa, in front of the heights of San Marcial, they likewise crossed that river with about three divisions of infantry in two columns, by the fords below Salin, in front of the position occupied by the 9th Portuguese brigade. Upon seeing this movement of his antagonist, the marquis immediately ordered Major General Inglis to support the Portuguese with his brigade, and Lieutenant Gene-

ral the Earl of Dalhousie to move with the seventh division towards the Bidassoa, at the same time ordering the light division to support General Inglis by every means in their power. The French drove the English brigade of Inglis from its position between Lezucca and the river, to the heights in front of the convent of San Antonio, where two divisions of the English army were posted. In the mean time Major General Kempt advanced with a brigade of the light division, checked the French, and covered the advance of Lord Dalhousie to join General Inglis. By this time the French commander in chief, finding that the attack upon the Spanish troops had not succeeded, and that English troops now covered and protected the right of the Spanish line, while the French situation on the left of the Bidassoa became every moment more critical, retired during the night. The fall of rain during the evening and night had so swollen the Bidassoa, that the rear of the French column was forced to cross at the bridge of Vera, which they could only do by attacking Major Skerret's brigade of the light division. They accordingly attacked at three in the morning of the 1st of September, and made good their passage of the bridge.

While this was going on upon the left of the allied army, Mariscal de Campo Don Pedro Giron, attacked the French posts in front of Echalar, on the 30th and 31st of August. General Zugarramurde, with the 6th Portuguese brigade on the 31st; and Colonel Douglass, on the same day, attacked the pass of Maya, with the 7th Portuguese brigade. All these troops conducted themselves so as to merit and receive the approbation of their great commander, who had the satisfaction of defeating the second attempt of the French to prevent the establishment of the allies on the frontiers, by the efforts of a part of his army principally Spanish and Portuguese, at the same time that the town of San Sebastian was carried by the English.

The storming of San Sebastian was on this as on the former occasion, a most murderous business, and though the result was different, the detail is but too similar. The command of the attack rested with Sir Thomas Graham, who ordered the assault to be

made by the 2d brigade of the 5th division, under Major General Robinson, supported by several detachments of volunteers, with a reserve under Major Hill, the whole under the direction of Lieutenant General Sir J. Leith. Sir Thomas Graham crossed the Urumia to the batteries of the right attack, from whence every thing could be distinctly seen, and the fire of the batteries, according to circumstances, directed.

The column in filing out of the right of the trenches, was, as before, exposed to a heavy fire of shells and grape shot, and a mine was exploded in the left angle of the counterscarp of the hornwork, which did great damage to the assailants, but did not check their approach to the breach. On arriving at the wall they found the breach much less practicable than it had appeared. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and that by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain, formed a perpendicular scarp of at least twenty feet, so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point.

During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the defendants had made every exertion to repel an assault, which skill and industry could effect. Great numbers of men were covered by entrenchments and traverses in the hornworks, on the ramparts of the curtain, and inside the town opposite to the breach, and now stood ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain. In vain were the assailants brought forward from the trenches in succession—no man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge.

The attack appeared altogether desperate, when Sir Thomas Graham directed the guns of the English batteries to be turned against the curtain of the defendants, thus pouring his shot over the heads of the assailants in the breach, with destructive precision upon their opponents. Mean time Major General Bradford's Portuguese brigade offered to ford the river near its



mouth, which being accepted, and Major Snodgrass, with the advance of the 13th regiment, and Lieutenant Colonel M'Bean, with a part of the 24th, advanced over the open beach, under a severe fire of grape, and after much slaughter carried two of the breaches. Sir Thomas Graham now seeing the great effect of the fire of the batteries against the curtain, ordered a great effort to be made to gain the high ridge at all hazards, at the same time that an attempt should be made to storm the hornwork. The troops destined for this service arrived to assault the breach of the curtain about the time that an explosion on the rampart created some confusion among the defendants. The narrow pass was gained, and was maintained after a severe conflict, and the troops on the right of the breach, having succeeded in forcing the barricades on the top of the narrow line of the wall, found their way into the houses that joined it.

Thus, after an assault which lasted above two hours, under the most trying circumstances, the assailants gained a firm footing, and in an hour more the French troops, driven from all their defences, retired to the castle.

The operations against the castle of San Sebastian were continued, under the direction of General Graham, until the 8th of September, on which day the garrison capitulated to become prisoners of war. The garrison, including 535 sick and wounded, amounted to 1,830.

The unfortunate Spanish city of San Sebastian experienced, during this contest, between their French invaders and English defenders, almost all the horrors which the infernal passions, cherished by war, can inflict upon the human race. The city was given up to the sack and pillage of the licentious soldiery, while the fire, set to it by both friends and enemies, raged in every quarter. Many of the unarmed inhabitants were shot and bayoneted by the English soldiers, while others experienced those indignities, which, to the honourable, are worse than death.

Spanish jealousy, which had been excited on more than one occasion, against the English, was raised to a high pitch by the

atrocities committed in San Sebastian, and charges, many true and many altogether groundless, were preferred not only against the soldiery, but the officers and even the commanders. It was said, that the English general commanding the siege purposely burnt the city. That the English wished its destruction from a spirit of rivalry and envy of the advantages it derived in its commerce with France.

The Spanish regency made an earnest representation to Field Marshal Wellington on the subject of these charges, requesting that he would inform himself of every particular relative to the alleged atrocities. His lordship easily repelled the charge of intentional destruction of the city by fire as it respected himself. He states in his answer, which was communicated to the British ambassador, that he had refrained from bombarding the city, and had given every order for its preservation. That the city was on fire previous to the assault. He admits and laments the sacking of the city, but asserts that the officers endeavoured to prevent it. He concludes by saying, that many of the offending soldiers had been punished.\*

\* I have no doubt that the most noble marquis believed, after making what he deemed a sufficient investigation into the causes of the destruction of San Sebastian, and the conduct of his troops, that the city was burnt by the French, and that the English officers endeavoured to restrain the soldiery, after having let them loose in the work of destruction and torture, upon the inhabitants of a city whose deliverers they professed to be; but Lord Wellington only questioned those whose interest it was to deceive him, those officers and soldiers whom he had, on a former occasion, stigmatized for want of discipline and atrocious licentiousness, beyond any example within the scope of his knowledge.

Who stopped the inquiries of his lordship in the course where truth would have been most likely to be found, does not appear, but it is certain that the Spanish inhabitants of the city were not examined, or they would have told his lordship, that which they have told the world, in a document signed by the magistrates, principal ecclesiastics, and others, to the amount of one hundred and eighty: they would have told him that the fire which the chance of war set to their city had been extinguished, and that the flames which consumed it were communicated purposely by the soldiery, when in full possession thereof, after the retreat of their enemies; that the soldiers danced round the flames, and prevented the attempts to stop the conflagration; that

After the fall of the fortress of San Sebastian, the movements of the opposing armies were of little interest for some time, and no event of importance occurred until the 7th of October, on which day Lord Wellington having previously judged it necessary that the allied army should pass the Bidassoa, having given his orders for that purpose, the operations were successfully carried into effect.

Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Graham having directed that the 1st and 5th divisions, and the 1st Portuguese brigade, under General Wilson, should pass the river in four columns, three of them by the lower bridge of Irun, and the other by the upper bridge, the movement was made with complete success.

These columns were commanded by Generals Hay, Creville, Stopfort, and Howard.

the inhabitants were shot at the moment when they received their English and Portuguese deliverers with acclamations, while those females who were soon to be violated or more humanely murdered, were waving their handkerchiefs in token of welcome; that, the scenes of fiendlike atrocity were not confined in duration to the day of the assault, or the night following, but continued day after day, and night after night, for four-and-twenty days; that not only the soldiers who bore the peril of the attack, were thus solaced by an indulgence of their propensities to the most deadly and abominable evil, but that the troops came unarmed from the neighbouring encampment to plunder and give loose to these demoniacal passions; that the attendants upon the camp, and even the crews of the English transport ships, came in for a share of the spoil of their Spanish friends; they would have described scenes at which humanity shudders, and which but to read causes the blush of shame and indignation to burn up on the cheek of every man deserving of the name; and they would have told his lordship, that his officers saw, and permitted, and shared in the spoil.

That the common soldiery of an army, when let loose from the restraints of discipline, will frequently behave as these monsters did at San Sebastian, the testimony of all history, and our own experience in America, are sufficient proofs; but that English officers should countenance, if not join in, such diabolical excesses on the property and persons of friends, would not have been believed under less testimony than the Spanish magistrates of San Sebastian, backed by that of Lord Wellington himself in his general orders on a former occasion.

Lieutenant General Fryere made a disposition that the part of the fourth Spanish army under his immediate orders should pass in three columns by the upper route, on which the Portuguese troops had passed. These columns were composed of the brigades of Generals Del Carro and Espelata, and Colonels Carretto, Gonoch, and Placentia, under the immediate direction of Marshals de Camp de la Barcena, and Porlier. The object of the first columns was to gain possession of the entrenchments of the French at the upper part of the Andaye, while, at the same time, the other three were to take the entrenchments on the green mountains and the heights of Mandale; and thus to turn the left of the French army.

The operations of both these bodies of troops were crowned with success. The Portuguese took seven pieces of artillery in the redoubts and batteries which fell into their hands, and the Spaniards took one piece in the works which they carried.

The French defended their works gallantly against the superior numbers of their assailants, and the 9th English regiment was several times repulsed before they could carry the object of their attack, which they did at the point of the bayonet, after suffering very great loss.

During these operations on the left, Major General Baron d'Alten, with the right division under his command, made an attack on the entrenchments in the pass of Vera, supported by the Spanish division under General Longat; and Major General Don Giron made at the same time an attack with the right of the light division and the Andalusian army of reserve, on the entrenched posts which the French occupied in the mountain of La Rhune. Colonel Cockburn, commanding Skerret's brigade, made an attack upon a strongly-entrenched camp on the right of the French, the 52d regiment gallantly entering the trenches and overthrowing the French troops with the bayonet.

The light division made 422 prisoners, and took three pieces of artillery.

The entrenched posts of the French army on the mountain La Rhune, were attacked by the Andalusian army of reserve,

headed by **Generals Vernes and Torry**. These troops gallantly overthrew all opposition until they came to the foot of a rock, where a hermitage stood, in which the French made a successful stand. The Spaniards made repeated attempts to carry it by assault, but were as often repulsed with slaughter. They could not scale the rock, and the French remained during the night in possession of the hermitage, which is situated on the declivity of the mountain, and was on the right of the Spanish troops.

Lord Wellington being informed of this obstacle to his success, reconnoitred it the next morning, and as soon as the fog which enveloped the mountain would permit him to see the exact situation of the post and surrounding ground, he found it accessible on the right, and capable of being attacked with success by uniting with the attack on it a simultaneous attack upon the field works, which the French had thrown up in front of the camp of Sarre. His lordship immediately ordered the army of reserve of Andalusia to concentrate, and on the arrival of the troops under the command of **General Giron**, orders were given to attack the French posts on the heights to the right of the allies, which were carried in the most gallant manner, and, following the advantage they had gained, they drove the French troops from another entrenchment situated on a height and protecting the camp of Sarre.

The French immediately abandoned their other positions for the purpose of defending the avenues of the camp of Sarre, and their works were taken possession of by the 7th division, which Lord Wellington had ordered to march for that purpose, under **Lieutenant General the Earl of Dalhousie** by the pass of Echalar.

While this was doing, **General Giron** established the battalion of Catalonia upon the rock of the hermitage, to the left of the French post. Night prevented any further operations on the part of the allies, and under cover of the darkness, the French general withdrew his troops from the hermitage and from the camp of Sarre.

In these actions, the loss of the English and Portuguese, by

the English account, was 814. The Spanish loss I find no return of.

Field Marshal Wellington had, on the 9th of July, when on the borders of France, published a general order, requiring of the officers and soldiery, that upon entering the French territory they should pay an inviolable respect to the persons and property of the French people, and that every article furnished for the army should be paid for; now, upon actually entering France, his lordship found that that army which had committed such atrocities upon their friends, could not easily be restrained from indulging their disposition to rapine and murder on the property and persons of Frenchmen. Every species of outrage was committed by the troops, and some of them in presence of the officers, who did not take any measures to stop them.

Indignant at such conduct, so contrary to policy as well as humanity, Lord Wellington repeated his former order on the 8th of October, 1813, prefacing it with a reproachful statement of the facts, and informing the army that the officers who had so greatly neglected their duty should be sent to England, "that the prince regent may know their names, and take such measures respecting them as he shall please, as the commandant of the forces is determined to have no officers under his command who will not obey his orders."

The surrender of Pampeluna, on the 31st of October, put an end to the French invasion of Spain; and France, in her turn, was now open to the victorious army of the allies, under the direction of one of the most consummate generals of this or any other age.

The series of successes which had attended the arms of Lord Wellington, made him at this time a prominent object of admiration to the conflicting nations of Europe. Spain, with all her suspicions that the friendship of England was hollow, could not but gratefully admire the conduct of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. France saw with astonishment her best troops and gene-

vals baffled and beaten by Englishmen, Portuguese and Spaniards but remarked with self complacency, that the leader was taught in her schools. England saw with exultation a portion of its brightness restored to her military fame; and Ireland, participating in the glories won to her conqueror by an Hibernian hero in the glow of generous ardour, bestowed the crown of Spain upon the English field marshal; and some of the Irish political writers, asserting as a fact that which they wished proclaimed to the world, that the grandees of Spain had offered the kingdom to Lord Wellington.

One might have supposed that such an assertion would only occasion a smile even in Spain. But on the contrary the Spanish grandees very gravely undertook to contradict the Irish journalists, and published a denial of any such intention, or of any intentions but such as were consonant with their loyalty to their admirable sovereign Ferdinand VII. of the admirable house of Bourbon.

Early in August the French army under Marshal Soult took up a strong position near St. Jean de Luz. Here the French marshal continued to strengthen himself, while his great antagonist waited the event of the siege of Pampeluna. The right of the French army extended to the sea, in front of St. Jean de Luz; their centre on La Petite La Rhune in Sarre, and on the heights behind the village, and their left, consisting of two divisions of infantry, on the right of that river, on a strong height in the rear of Anhoue, and on the mountain of Mandarin, which protected the approach to that village. They had one division at St. Jean Pied de Port, and on the 7th of October, the allies having passed the Bidassoa, another division took post at that place.

The whole of this position, naturally strong, was strengthened by all that skill and labour could perform, and the right in particular appeared so formidable to Lord Wellington, that when meditating his attack, he did not deem it expedient to approach it in front.

After the surrender of Pampeluna, the English field marshal directed all the movements of the allies to the intended attack upon Soult's strong position. Sir Rowland Hill, who had covered the siege, was ordered to the valley of Bastan. Lord Wellington determined on the 8th of November for the attack, but heavy falls of rain on the previous days rendered it necessary to defer the battle to the 10th.

The object of the attack being to force the enemy's centre, and to establish the allied armies in the rear of the right of the French, the attack was made in columns of divisions, each led by the general officer commanding it, and each forming its own reserve.

Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill directed the movement of the right, consisting of the second division, under Lieutenant General the honourable Sir William Stewart, the sixth division under Lieutenant General Sir H. Clinton, a Portuguese division under Lieutenant General Sir John Hamilton, and a Spanish division, under General Morillo, with Colonel Grant's brigade of cavalry, Colonel Tulloh's brigade of Portuguese artillery, and three mountain guns. This force attacked the positions of the French army behind the village of Anhoue.

Marshal Sir William Beresford directed the movements of the centre of the allied army consisting of the third division under Major General the honourable Charles Colville, the seventh division under Mariscal de Campo Le Cor, and the fourth division under Lieutenant General the honourable Sir Lowry Cole.

The fourth division attacked the redoubts in front of Sarre, the village and the heights behind it. They were supported by the army of reserve of Andalusia, under the command of the Mariscal de Campo Don Pedro Giron, which attacked the positions of the French on their right of the village of Sarre, on the slopes of La Petite La Rhune, and the heights behind the village on the left of General Cole's division.

Major General Charles Baron Alten, attacked with the light division, and General Longa's Spanish division. Their desti-



nation was to carry the French positions on **La Petite La Rhune**, and then to coöperate with the right of the centre in the attack on the heights behind the village of **Sarre**.

**Alten's** brigade of cavalry, under the direction of **Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton**, followed the movements of the centre, and there were three brigades of English artillery with this part of the army, and three mountain guns with **General Giron**, and three with **General Alten**.

**Lieutenant General Don Manual Freyre** moved in two columns from the heights of **Mandale** towards **Ascain**, in order to take advantage of any movements which the French marshal might make from the right of his position towards the centre; and **Lieutenant General Sir John Hope** drove in the French outposts in front of their entrenchments on the lower **Nivelle**, carried the redoubt above **Orogne**, and established himself on the heights immediately opposite **Sibour**, in readiness to take advantage of any movement made by the right of the French army.

Such were the dispositions of the English field marshal, and under the direction of his comprehensive mind, at daylight the work of death began.

**Sir Lowry Cole** having obliged the French to evacuate the redoubt on their right in front of the village of **Sarre** by a cannonade, and the redoubt in front of the left of the village having been abandoned on the approach of the seventh division under **General Le Cor**, **General Sir Lowry Cole** attacked and possessed himself of the village, which was turned on its left by the third division under **General Colville**, and on its right by the reserve of **Andalusia** under **General Giron**.

About the same time **Major General Charles Baron Alten** carried the positions on **La Petite La Rhune**, after which the whole coöperated in attacking **Marshal Soult's** main position behind the village of **Sarre**.

The third and seventh divisions immediately carried the redoubts on the left of the French centre, the light division at the same time carried those on the right, while the 4th division with

the reserve of Andalusia, attacked the positions of their centre. By these attacks the French were obliged to abandon their strong positions fortified with so much care, time, and labour. In the principal redoubt on the height they left the 1st battalion of the 88th regiment, which immediately surrendered.

While these operations were going on in the centre, Lord Wellington had the pleasure of seeing the 6th division, under Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, after having crossed the Nivelle, and driven in the French piquets on both sides of the river, and after having covered the passage of the Portuguese division under Lieutenant General Sir John Hamilton, make a most gallant attack upon the French position behind Anhoue, and on the right of the Nivelle, and carry all the entrenchments and the redoubt on that flank. General Hamilton supported with the Portuguese division, and both joined in the attack of the second redoubt, which was immediately carried.

Major General Pringle's brigade of the second division, under Lieutenant General the honourable Sir William Stewart, drove in the French piquets on the Nivelle, and in front of Anhoue, and immediately Major General Byng's brigade of the second division carried the entrenchments and a redoubt farther on the left of the French. Major General Morillo covered the advance of the whole, to the heights behind Anhoue, by attacking the French posts on the slopes of Mandarin, and following the retreat of their troops towards Itzatee. By these operations, made under the directions of Sir Rowland Hill, the troops on the heights behind Anhoue were forced to retire beyond the bridge of Cambo on the Nive, with the exception of the division in Mandarin, which was pushed by a part of the second division, under Sir William Stewart, into the mountains towards Baygory.

As soon as the heights were carried on both banks of the Nivelle, Lord Wellington ordered the 3d and 7th divisions, being the right of the centre of the allies, to move by the left of that river upon St. Pe, and the 6th division to move upon the same place upon the opposite side of the river, while the 4th and left divisions, and General Giron's reserve held the

heights above Ascaïn and covered this movement on that side, and Sir Rowland Hill on the other.

A part of the French army had retired from their centre and crossed the Nivelle at St. Pe, they were attacked by the allies as soon as they could cross in pursuit, who gained possession of the heights beyond the river.

Thus the allies were established in the rear of the right of Marshal Soult according to Lord Wellington's plan, but the day was now spent, and no further movements could be made. It was his lordship's intention to pursue his plan of attack on the next day, but Marshal Soult, seeing a part of his strong positions forced by a superior enemy, would not hazard the defence of the remainder, so exposed and weakened, and in the night withdrew his army from the works in front of St. Jean de Luz, retiring upon Bedart, and destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelle. A part of the allied army followed on the next day as soon as they could cross the river, but the French were safe from further attacks and on the night of the 11th of November, Marshal Soult placed his army in security in his entrenched camp in front of the city of Bayonne.

Lord Wellington held as trophies of his new victory fifty-one pieces of cannon, six trumbrils of ammunition, and 1,400 prisoners; his loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 2 general staff, 6 lieutenant colonels, 4 majors, 44 captains, 80 lieutenants, 42 ensigns, 6 staff, 161 sergeants, 29 drummers, 2,420 rank and file; making a total of 2,484, exclusive of Spaniards, so that the loss of the allies may be estimated on this occasion at upwards of 3,000 men.

The news of this victory arrived in London on the same day that accounts were received of the successes gained over Bonaparte by the Russians, Swedes, Austrians, Prussians, &c. and the restoration of the Orange government in Holland, and added to the general strain of exultation. That France should be invaded in her turn, was thought a measure of retributive justice for the misery her ruler had inflicted upon other nations, and the

restoration of the race of the Bourbons was anticipated as the consummation of European happiness.

The rains which commenced immediately after the battle of the 10th of November continued until the 19th, and rendered the roads and country almost impracticable for any military operations. Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill reconnoitred the French posts at the *tete de pont* at Cambo, on the 12th, and again on the 15th; on that day, after blowing up the bridge, the French troops withdrew from the place.

On the 18th a detachment from the French army reconnoitred the posts occupied by Sir John Hope, some skirmishing ensued, and Brigadier General Wilson was wounded.

On the same day Marshal Sir W. Beresford drove the French posts across the bridge of Urdains and established his posts there. The French attacked him next morning, and endeavoured to destroy the bridge, but were repulsed.

Lord Wellington conceiving it to be of importance that the advanced posts of the left division should be pushed nearer the French lines, this movement was accordingly ordered to be made on the 23d of November. The troops accordingly advanced, but were obliged to retreat with loss, having got under the fire of the entrenched camp before Bayonne. The loss of the English and Portuguese, for the Spanish loss is never returned, amounted on this day to 80, *hors de combat*.

The entrenched camp of the French army before Bayonne is represented by Lord Wellington as impregnable while occupied by an army in force. Ever since the battle of Vittoria, these works had been forming and strengthening by all the means which the most consummate skill and the most indefatigable labour could bring to have effect. The entrenched camp appears to be under fire of the works of the city of Bayonne, the right rests upon the Adour and the front in this part is covered by a morass occasioned by a rivulet which falls into the Adour. The right of the centre rests upon the same morass, and its left upon the river Nive. The left is between the Nive and the Adour, resting upon the Adour. The French at this time had their ad-

vanced posts from their right, in front of Auglet and towards Biarritz. With their left they defended the river Nive, and communicated with General Paris's division of the army of Catalonia, which was at St. Jean de Pied de Port, and they had a considerable corps cantoned in Ville Franche and Monguerre.

Lord Wellington deemed it impossible to attack Marhal Soult while he remained in force in this position. He had determined to pass the Nive immediately after he had passed the Nivelle, but was prevented by the bad state of the roads and the swelling of the rivulets, owing to the great fall of rain, but the weather and the roads having at length enabled the army to collect materials and make the necessary preparations for forming bridges over the river, his lordship determined no longer to delay the advance of his troops, and ordered them out of their cantonments on the 8th of December.

Orders were given that the right of the army, under Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill, should, on the 9th of December, pass the river, at and near Cambo, while Marshal Sir William Beresford should favour and support his operations, by passing the sixth division under Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, at Ustaritz. Both these movements were made with complete success. The French were driven from the right bank of the river, and retired towards Bayonne by the great road of St. Jean de Pied de Port. Those posted opposite Cambo were nearly intercepted by the 6th division, and one regiment was driven from the road and forced to march across the country.

The French troops assembled in considerable force on a range of heights running parallel with the Adour, and still keeping Ville Franche by the right. The eighth Portuguese regiment, under Colonel Douglass, and the 9th caçadores, under Colonel Brown, and the English light infantry battalions of the 6th division attacked and carried Ville Franche and the heights in the neighbourhood.

The rain which had fallen in the night of the 7th and morning of the 8th, had so destroyed the roads, that the day had nearly elapsed before the whole of Sir Rowland Hill's corps had come

up, and the great commander of the allies was obliged to be satisfied with the ground which he occupied by these movements.

While the above mentioned operations were going forward, Lieutenant General Sir John Hope with the left of the army under his command, moved forward by the great road of St. Jean de Luz towards Bayonne, and reconnoitred the entrenched camp and the course of the Adour below the town, after driving the French posts from Briaritz and Auglet. The light division under Major General Alten also moved forward from Bas-suassary and reconnoitred that part of the French entrenchment. These forces retired the same day to the ground they had previously occupied.

On the morning of the 10th of December Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill found that the French had withdrawn from the position which they had occupied the day before on the heights, and had gone into the entrenched camp on that side of the Nive; he therefore occupied the position, with his right towards the Adour and his left at Ville Franche, and communicating with the centre of the army under Sir William Beresford, by a bridge laid over the Nive, and the troops of Marshal Beresford were again drawn to the left of the Nive.

General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry was placed at Ureary, and Colonel Vivian's brigade of light dragoons at Hasparren, in order to observe the movements of the French division under General Paris, which, upon the passage of the Nive by the allies, had retired towards St. Palais.

On the morning of the 11th of December Marshal Soult marched his whole army out of their entrenched camp, leaving only a sufficient force to occupy the works opposite to Sir Rowland Hill's position. The French advanced upon Sir John Hope's corps, and, after driving in the piquets, made a most desperate attack upon the English posts, both of Sir Rowland Hill and Sir John Hope. The contest was long and sanguinary, especially at the posts of Sir John Hope, but the French were finally obliged to withdraw their troops, leaving 500 prisoners and a number of slain. The loss of the allies was likewise very severe,

particularly among the Portuguese of the first brigade, who bore the brunt of the action on the part of Sir John Hope's advanced post, and among the troops of Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, which moved up to their support.

This attempt of Marshal Soult by an attack upon Lord Wellington's left to make him draw in his right had now completely failed; and soon after the attack ceased, two Austrian regiments, in the French service, came over to the posts of Major General Ross's brigade, of the 4th division, and surrendered themselves on condition of being sent home.

The French army continued all night close upon the front of the allies, occupying the ground from which they had driven in the piquets, and on the morning of the 12th of December the attack was recommenced on Lord Wellington's left, and the bloody conflict was continued, though not so furiously as on the preceding day, until the afternoon, when the French marshal withdrew his troops, and that night retired entirely within his entrenched camp.

Lord Wellington's knowledge of his adversary and the science of destruction, induced him to order Marshal Sir William Beresford to reinforce Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill, by detaching the sixth division to his aid, foreseeing that Marshal Soult would make his next attack in that quarter. And so it was. On the night of the 12th the French commander passed a large force through Bayonne, with which, in the morning of the 13th, he made a most desperate attack upon Sir Rowland Hill.

Here against an inferior general Soult would have succeeded; but Wellington had provided for the foreseen exigency, and his adversary was again foiled.

Beside the 6th division, Lord Wellington reinforced General Hill, afterwards, by the fourth division, and two brigades of the second.

The expected arrival of the reinforcements gave Sir Rowland Hill great facility in making his movements; and the troops under his immediate command had nearly repulsed the assailants before succour arrived. The principal attack having been made along

the high road from St. Jean Pied de Port, Barnes's brigade of English infantry, and the 5th Portuguese brigade, were engaged in the hottest of the contest. The Portuguese brigade under Mariscal del Campo Don F. le Cor, moved up to their support in a very gallant style, and regained an important position between these troops and Major General Pringle's brigade, which was engaged with the French in front of Villa Franche. The French had likewise gained a height on the right of Sir Rowland Hill's positions, from which they were driven by Byng's brigade, supported by the fourth Portuguese brigade. Here the contest was severe, but the French, notwithstanding several desperate efforts, could not regain this position.

With the loss of two guns and a few prisoners, the French retired to their entrenchments, foiled in every attempt upon the positions of Marshal Wellington, after having evinced a most determined valour, and only to be exceeded by the firmness and skill of their adversaries. In these repeated attacks and repulses, and daily repetitions of carnage, the English account of the losses of the allied army, acknowledges between 3 and 4,000, and states that of the French to amount to 10 or 12,000.



## SECTION XIII.

Retrospective glance—Napoleon Bonaparte releases the King of Spain and makes a treaty with him—The regency and cortes take measures to guard against the machinations of the French emperor—Movements of Lord Wellington's army in December, 1813—Lord Wellington drives the French from their positions in January, 1814—Advance of the allies upon Bayonne in February—The right of Lord Wellington's army is established on the Gave d'Oleron—Allies continue to advance—Battle of Orthes—The French completely defeated—Passage of the Adour below Bayonne—Lord Wellington slightly wounded—Result of the battle of Orthes—Sir Rowland Hill defeats a French corps at Aire—Marshal Sir William Beresford takes possession of Bordeaux by order of Lord Wellington—Defection of the department of La Landes from Bonaparte—Paris taken possession of by capitulation, and entry of the Emperors of Russia and Austria into that capital—Conclusion.

WHEN the enormous power of imperial France, guided by the enormous ambition of Napoleon, was broken against the ice and iron of the "frightful climate" of Russia, and the despot of the south fled before the despot of the north, the world hailed with acclamations the auspicious day which gave assurance that all projects of universal empire are but dreams.

The efforts of so great a man as Napoleon Bonaparte to resist the ebbing tide of his fortunes, produced struggles, which, for a time, seemed to render the fate of Europe dubious; but the Russian power rolled on from the north, and, like the child's mass of snow propelled from the hill-top, gathered matter, and weight, and impulse, in its progress. The Autocrat of Russia, at whose nod millions of slaves tremble or die, becomes the real champion of the liberty of nations, and is joined in his career of victory by the herd of tyrants whom the French despot had vanquished, and robbed, and spared, or created kings as ministers of his iron rule, in his former course of blood and triumphs.

To resist this overwhelming force Napoleon opposed efforts of skill becoming his gigantic character, yet altogether unavailing. These efforts, as we have seen, by withdrawing power from the war of the Peninsula, gave efficacy to the skill, and valour, and prudence of the Marquis of Wellington.

Forced to retire within the boundaries of the Rhine, and looking anxiously for resources against his northern and southern invaders, the Emperor of France turns his thoughts on his captive king, Don Ferdinando, and with that mean cunning, which seems equally with audacious effrontery to mark the European diplomacy of the day, he releases him from his bondage, acknowledges him King of Spain, (King Joseph notwithstanding,) and still having him in his power, makes a treaty of peace and amity with him, by which he is to restore him to his crown and home, and Ferdinand is to send home the English and Portuguese, as well as recall his Spaniards out of France.\*

*\* Treaty of Peace and Friendship between King Ferdinand VII. and Bonaparte.*

His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand the VIIth. King of Spain and the Indies, and his majesty the Emperor of France, King of Italy, protector of the Rhenish confederacy, and mediator of that of Switzerland, both equally desirous of putting an end to the calamities of war, and adjusting a definitive treaty of peace between the two powers, have appointed plenipotentiaries for the purpose, as follows:

His majesty Ferdinand the VIIth. has appointed Don Joseph Michael Carvajal Duke of St. Charles, Count of Puerto, grand master of ports of Indies, grandee of Spain, great steward of the king's household, lieutenant general of his armies, chamberlain in employment to his majesty, great cross and commander of several orders of knighthood, &c. &c.

His majesty the emperor and king has appointed the Chevalier Anthony Kenatus Charles Mathurin, Count of Laforest, and of his imperial council of state, grand officer of the legion of honour, great cross of the imperial order of reunion, &c. &c.

Who, having exchanged their respective full powers, did agree in the following articles:

1. There shall be in future, and from the ratification of this treaty, a perfect peace and friendship between his majesty Ferdinand the VIIth. and his successors, and his majesty the emperor and king, and his successors.

2. All hostilities by sea and land shall cease in their respective dominions,

This, like many other of the acts and declarations of the rulers of the earth, appears like a very silly attempt at deception. Was it expected by Bonaparte that the Spanish government, newly organized, and aware both of his intentions for their future condition,

to wit, in those of the continent of Europe immediately after the ratification of this treaty; fifteen days after in the seas which bathe the coasts of Europe and Africa on this side the equator; and two months after in the seas and countries situated at the east of the Cape of Good Hope.

3. His majesty the emperor and king does acknowledge Ferdinand the VIIth. and his successors, according to the order of succession established by the fundamental law of Spain and the Indies.

4. His majesty the emperor and king does likewise acknowledge the integrity of the territory of Spain, such as it was before the war.

5. The provinces and fortified places now in the power of the French troops shall be delivered up, in the same state and condition in which they shall be found, to the Spanish governors and troops sent by his majesty Ferdinand the VIIth. to take possession thereof.

6. His majesty the King Ferdinand does oblige himself to maintain, on his own part, the integrity of the territory of Spain, as well as the isles, garrisons, towns and fortresses adjacent to it, chiefly those of Mahon and Ceuta. He in the same manner obliges himself to cause the provinces, fortified places, and territory, occupied by the governor and army of the British nation, to be altogether evacuated by them.

7. A military convention shall be agreed to by our commissioners, one French and the other Spanish, to the end that the evacuation of the Spanish provinces, occupied either by the French or British, should be simultaneously carried into execution.

8. His majesty Ferdinand VII. and his majesty the emperor and king, do both oblige themselves reciprocally to maintain the independence of their maritime rights, such as stipulated in the treaty of Utrecht, and as both powers had maintained them till the late year 1792.

9. All Spaniards addicted to King Joseph, and who obtained military or civil offices in Spain, and followed him, shall be restored to all their honours, rights and prerogatives; and all their estates and property shall be restored to them: Those who, perhaps, will establish themselves out of Spain, shall be allowed the space of ten years to sell their estates and property, and to take the necessary measures for their establishment abroad. Whatever rights they may have to future successions, shall be preserved inviolable in their favour; and they shall be allowed to enjoy their property and estates, and to dispose thereof at liberty, without being subject in any way to the right of the exchequer, to that of retraction, or any other whatever.

and of the miseries inflicted on the nation by former misrule, would blindly resign themselves either to him or to his new friend Ferdinand? Or could he expect that Ferdinand, restored to liberty and a crown, would forgive former treachery and injury?—Neither. He might, perhaps, hope to restore to the Spaniards a king deprived of their confidence, and excite civil discord by which hereafter to profit, and, perhaps, to increase

10. All property, whether moveable or unmoveable, belonging in Spain to French or Italian individuals, shall be restored to them in such a condition as they enjoyed them before the war. All property belonging to Spaniards, which had been sequestered or confiscated in France or Italy, shall likewise be restored to them. Commissioners shall be appointed on both sides to clear up and regulate whatever difficulties and contentions should arise in the matter between French, Italian, and Spanish subjects; should those difficulties and contentions imply a discussion of interests previous to the war, or any other whatever after it.

11. The prisoners taken by each nation shall be restituted, whether they should exist in the depots, or under the service of some power; unless they, immediately after the restoration of peace, should declare, before a commissioner of their nation, that they will continue under the service of the power to which they were engaged.

12. The garrison of Pampeluna, as well as the prisoners existing at Cadiz, Corunna, isles of the Mediterranean sea, and every other depot, who have been delivered up to the British, shall be likewise restored, whether they may exist in Spain, or have been sent to America.

13. His majesty the King Ferdinand does oblige himself, besides, to pay every year to King Charles the IVth. and to the queen his wife, a million and a half of dollars, which shall exactly be delivered up to them by quarters, a respective sum every three months. From the death of King Charles, two millions of livres (twenty pence French each livre) shall be paid to the queen for her widowhood. All the Spaniards who may be in the domestic service of King Charles and the queen his wife, shall be at liberty to reside out of the Spanish territory so long as their majesties shall think it convenient.

14. A treaty of commerce shall be adjusted between the two powers; and in the mean while, all their commercial relations shall remain on the same footing as before the war of 1792.

15. The present treaty shall be ratified at Paris in the space of one month, or sooner if possible.

Stipulated and signed at Valencey, the 11th of December, 1813.

THE DUKE OF SAINT CHARLES  
THE COUNT OF LAFOREST.

their jealousy against their heretical English deliverers. At most, it appears the effort of a losing gamester.

The Spanish regency and cortes received the treaty, on its promulgation, with all that distrust which was its due, and immediately took measures to guard themselves against its effects and the arts of their arch enemy. They passed a decree, by which all the acts of Ferdinand were made nugatory, not only while in the power of France, but until he had taken the oaths prescribed by the new constitution; they appointed officers and guards to receive him on his entering Spain, and prohibited the entrance of all Frenchmen or partisans of France with him—in short, they provided, by every means which prudence or jealousy could suggest, for the safeguard of the constitution and the peace of the nation.

Lord Wellington was in the mean time taking all those precautionary steps which insure success as he advanced within the French territory. The inhabitants of Baygorey were noted in the late war for their opposition to the Spanish troops, and they were the only persons who now manifested any disposition to oppose the allies. General Mina was stationed, by Lord Wellington, with three battalions of his troops at Bidarry and at St. Etienne de Baygorey in observation of the movements of the French from St. Jean Pied de Port. Notwithstanding these measures to overawe and keep them quiet, the inhabitants of Bidarry and Baygorey joined the standard of General Harispe, who, with this force and the division of the army of Catalonia, under General Paris, and such troops as could be collected from the garrison of St. Jean Pied de Port, moved on the 12th of December upon the troops of General Mina's division, and drove them into the valley of the Aldudes.

For the remainder of the month of December, the armies under the command of the Marquis of Wellington seem to have remained quietly in their positions, the French making no movements until the 3d of January, 1814, when, having collected a considerable force on the Gave, they attacked and drove in the cavalry piquets of the allies, between the Joyeuse and the

Bidouze rivers, and attacked the post of General Buchan's brigade on the heights of La Costa, obliging him to retreat towards Briscons. Marshal Soult established two divisions of infantry on the height and in La Bastide, with the remainder of his army on the Bidouse and the Gave.

Lord Wellington immediately concentrated his centre and right, and prepared to move. His lordship, having reconnoitred his enemy's force on the 4th of January, formed his plan of attack with his usual promptitude, and made preparations for battle, to be carried into operation on the 5th, but the rain, which fell in torrents and swelled the rivulets, deferred his movements until the 6th.

On the 6th of January the attack was made by the 3d and 4th divisions, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, and Lieutenant General Sir Lowry Cole, supported by the Portuguese division under General Buchan, and the cavalry of General Le Cor. The French retreated without contesting the positions, and the posts of the allies were replaced on the ground from which they had been driven.

On the morning of the 21st of January the French withdrew all their outposts in front of the entrenched camp before Bayonne, between the Adour and the left of the Nive, and General Harispe's troops from Bidarry and Baygorey marched towards the centre of Soult's army.

Lord Wellington, notwithstanding the movements above mentioned, may be said not to have commenced the campaign of 1814 until the middle of February, at which time the allied powers of the north had gained firm footing in France, and, although sometimes checked in their course, had progressed towards the object of their destination—the proud and guilty city of Paris—with a power adequate to the great end in view.

The object of Lord Wellington with the allies of the south, appears to have been Bordeaux, and such general coöperative measures as should tend to the great object, not yet avowed, of dethroning the Emperor of the French and restoring the exiled Bourbons. The operations of Marshal Wellington commenced

with the advance of his right wing, under Sir Rowland Hill, against the French positions on the Joyeuse river. The French piquets were driven in at that post, and General Harispe forced to retire from his positions at Hellette to St. Martin. At the same time, part of General Mina's Spanish troops formed the blockade of St. Jean Pied de Port.

On the 15th of February Sir Rowland Hill pursued the retreating army to Garris, where General Harispe was joined to General Paris's division, which had been recalled from its march from the interior. On this day the second English division, under Sir William Stewart, and the Spanish division of General Murillo, attacked and drove the French with loss from their position near St. Palais. During the night the retreating army crossed the Bidouse.

On the 16th Sir Rowland Hill crossed the Bidouse in pursuit, and the next day forced the French to cross the Gave de Mouleou, and the retreat and pursuit were continued until the 18th, on which day Lord Wellington saw the right of his army established on the Gave d'Oleron.

The commander in chief then returned to his left, under the command of Sir John Hope, which, in accordance with a bold conception of the marshal, was destined to cross the Adour, between Bayonne and the sea, by the aid of the maritime force under Admiral Penrose.

On the 21st of February Lord Wellington ordered the 6th and light divisions of his army to break up the blockade of Bayonne, and General Don Manuel Freyre to close up the cantonments of his corps towards Irun, and to be prepared to move when the left of the army should cross the Adour.

On the 23d Field Marshal Sir William Beresford attacked the French in their fortified positions at Hastiugues and Overgave, on the left of the Gave de Pau, and obliged them to retire within the tête du pont at Peyrehorade.

Sir Rowland Hill passed the Gave d'Oleron at Villenave, on the 24th; and Marisco de Campo Don Pablo Murillo drove in the enemy's posts near Noverrens, and blockaded that place.

Immediately after the passage of the Gave d'Oleron was effected, Sir Rowland Hill and Sir Henry Clinton moved towards Orthes, and the great road leading from Sauveterre and that town. The French retired in the night from Sauveterre, across the Gave de Pau, and assembled their army near Orthes, on the 25th, having destroyed all the bridges on the river.

The right and right of the centre of Lord Wellington's army assembled opposite Orthes. Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton, with Lord E. Somerset's brigade of cavalry, and the third division under Sir Thomas Picton was near the destroyed bridge of Bereus; and Field Marshal Sir William Beresford, with the 4th and 7th divisions under Generals Cole and Walker, and Colonel Vivian's brigade, was posted towards the junction of the Gave de Pau with the Gave d'Oleron.

The troops opposed to Marshal Beresford having marched on the 25th, he the next day crossed the Gave de Pau, below the junction of the Gave d'Oleron, and moved along the high road from Peyrehorade towards Orthes, on the right of the French. As he approached, Sir Stapleton Cotton with the cavalry, and Sir T. Picton with the 3d division, crossed below the bridge of Bereus. Lord Wellington moved the 6th and light divisions to the same point, and Sir Rowland Hill occupied the heights opposite Orthes and the high road leading to Sauveterre.

The sixth and light divisions crossed the Adour on the morning of the 27th at daybreak, accompanied by Lord Wellington, who found his adversary strongly posted near Orthes, with his right on the heights on the road to Dax, and occupying the village of St. Boes, and his left stationed on the heights above Orthes, and occupying that town, opposing Sir Rowland Hill's passage of the river.

Marshal Sir William Beresford attacked and carried the village of St. Boes, with the 4th division under the command of Sir Lowry Cole, after an obstinate resistance. The attack upon the heights was not so successful. Major General Ross and Brigadier General Vasconcello, with his Portuguese brigade, found the ground so narrow that the troops could not deploy for the



attack, and Lord Wellington found that it was impossible to turn the French army by their right without an excessive extension of his line; he therefore promptly altered his plan of attack, so far as to order the immediate advance of the 6th and third divisions, and to move forward Colonel Barnard's brigade of the light division to attack the left of the heights on which the enemy's right stood.

This attack was led by the 52d regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Colborne, and supported on their right by Major General Brisbane's and Colonel Keats's brigades of the 3d division, and by simultaneous attacks on the left by Major General Anson's brigade of the 4th division, on the right by Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, with the remainder of the 3d division, and the 6th division under Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton. The enemy was dislodged from the heights after a bloody conflict, and victory again declared for the allies and for Wellington.

In the mean time Sir Rowland Hill had forced the passage of the Gave above Orthes, and, seeing the state of the battle, moved immediately with the 2d division of infantry under Sir William Stewart, and Fane's brigade of cavalry, direct for the great roads from Orthes to St. Sever, thus keeping upon the left of the French army.

The French troops retired at first in admirable order, taking every advantage of the numerous good positions which the country afforded. The losses, however, which they sustained in the continued attacks of the pursuing army, and the danger with which they were threatened by Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill's movements, soon accelerated their retreat into a flight, and their troops were thrown into the utmost confusion.

Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton took advantage of the only opportunity which offered, to charge with Lord Edward Somerset's brigade, in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles, where the retreating troops had been driven from the high road by Sir Rowland Hill. The charge of the cavalry was successful, and many prisoners made.

The pursuit was continued until it was dusk, when the com-

mander in chief ordered his victorious army to halt in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles.

In Lord Wellington's despatch, dated March 1st, 1814, he says—  
 "I cannot estimate the extent of the enemy's loss: we have taken six pieces of cannon and a great many prisoners, the number I cannot at present report. The whole country is covered by their dead. Their army was in the utmost confusion when I last saw it passing the heights near Sault de Navailles, and many soldiers had thrown away their arms. The desertion has since been immense. Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill has moved upon Aire, and the advanced posts of the centre are at Casares. The enemy are apparently retiring upon Agen, and have left open the direct road towards Bordeaux."

In this the last victory which I shall have to record in my present work, the last battle probably which the illustrious subject of my labours will fight before the overthrow of the power of Napoleon, he, who in so many well-fought fields had escaped untouched by the messengers of death, was twice on the very brink of eternity. Early in the day he was for a moment stunned by the wind of a cannon ball, which passed close by him; and in the course of the action, while giving orders to his Spanish aid-de-camp, he was struck on the side by a nearly-spent musket ball. His lordship immediately said "I am hit," and in fact the contusion was so great as to produce a momentary sickness, and would have produced greater injury but for the thickness of the sword belt. When the service of the day was over it became necessary to assist him in dismounting from his horse; but the next day he appeared in the field at his usual early hour to the inexpressible joy of his army.

Whilst the operations which I have detailed above were carrying on by the right of Lord Wellington's army, Lieutenant General Sir John Hope, in concert with Rear Admiral Penrose, transported the left of the army across the Adour below Bayonne, and took possession of both banks of the river at its mouth.

The French, conceiving that the means of crossing the river which Sir John Hope had at his command had not enabled him

to cross a large force in the course of the 22d, attacked on that evening the corps which he had sent over, but were repulsed with loss.

On the 25th of February Sir John Hope invested the citadel of Bayonne, and General Freyre moved forward with the fourth Spanish army. On the 27th Sir John Hope, deeming it expedient to invest the citadel of Bayonne more closely, attacked the village of St. Etienne, which he carried, and established his outposts within nine hundred yards of the outworks of the French.

The result of these various operations were, the investment of Bayonne; St. Jean Pied de Port and Navarrens; the passage of the Adour; the possession of all the great communications across the river; a free route to Bordeaux; possession of the French magazines; and the total discomfiture of the opposing army. The price paid for all these advantages by the allies is estimated by English journals at about 4,000 put *hors de combat*.

The French had collected a corps at Aire for the purpose of protecting the evacuation of a magazine which they had at that place; but Sir Rowland Hill on the 2d of March attacked them, drove them from their post with loss, and gained possession of the town and magazine. Lord Wellington soon after established his head quarters at Aire.

The rains were so violent, and the rivers, consequently, so increased, that the operations of the allied armies were suspended for some days. In the mean time the French, after the affair with Sir Rowland Hill on the 2d, retired by both banks of the Adour towards Tarbes, with a view of receiving reinforcements from Marshal Suchet's army, which left Catalonia in the last week in February.

Lord Wellington ordered a detachment under Major General Fane to take possession of Pau; and another under Marshal Sir William Beresford to take possession of Bordeaux.

On the 12th of March Sir William Beresford approached Bordeaux, and was met by the mayor and citizens, who hailed his approach with acclamations, and taking off the eagles and

other badges of their servitude to Napoleon, substituted the old badge of the white cockade, the token of submission to the Bourbons.

The citizens, universally, gave every demonstration of joy, and not only Bordeaux, but the whole department of La Landes, assumed the white cockade, and declared in favour of Louis XVIII.

We thus see accomplished the purposes for which Lord Wellington was intrusted with the command of the armies of England, Portugal, and Spain, the complete deliverance of the Peninsula from the power of France; and more, a most efficient coöperation with the allied powers of the north to overthrow the power of Bonaparte. Whilst the legions of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, are holding their steady course to the centre of imperial power, Paris, Wellington, having annihilated opposition, and produced a defection of a whole department from the imperial standard, is left at liberty to march his army towards the same central point.

On the 31st of March Paris capitulated, and was taken possession of by the Emperors of Russia and Austria.

What stupendous events are these! and what a lesson is this to overweening ambition! That man who had either actually or virtually been in possession of every capital in Europe, saving London and Constantinople, sees the sovereigns of Moskow and Vienna lording it in Paris, himself an exile, threatened with general defection and consequent contempt.

It is for the future historian, or the biographer who shall write the life of the most noble Marquis of Wellington after that life shall be extinguished, to give a character drawn from a more perfect knowledge of his private virtues and public actions than I possess. Mankind are ever prone to compare distinguished men with each other, and Wellington has been compared with his great contemporaries, as well as with former heroes. He has been compared with Nelson, but he is a far more perfect character at present than Nelson; he has been compared with Marlborough, and the points of similitude are many, but he has not attained

that high political consequence and character which the Duke of Marlborough enjoyed, nor stood so paramount among the military characters of his day. I will not look for fanciful likenesses, nor endeavour to write a panegyric, or draw a character of the hero of these pages; let the reader look to the actions of Lord Wellington, and estimate his virtues and his talents, and then join with me in the wish, that they may be increased through a long life with increasing honours, but only be hereafter exerted to insure and adorn that peace, which, as I hope, he has so materially aided in giving to the civilized world.

THE END.

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